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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
I T A L Y,

Translated from the ITALIAN of
FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,
B Y
AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD, Esq.
The THIRD EDITION.
V O L. II.



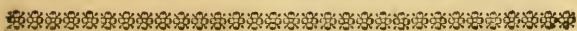
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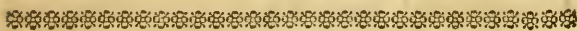
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Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F
The WARS in ITALY.






B O O K III. *ending Page 204.*



T H E C O N T E N T S.

*The Venetians give Assistance to the Pisans.
Preparations in France for another
Expedition into Italy. Quarrels between
the Guelf and Ghibelline Parties.
Maximilian Cæsar invited into Italy by
the Duke of Milan. The Death of
Ferdinando King of Naples. The War
between the Pope and the Orfini. A
Plot of Piero de' Medici defeated. The
Execution of Savonarola.*

 H E dishonourable Return of the *A. D.*
 T *French King to the other Side of* ^{1495.}
 the *Alps*, tho' it had proceeded
rather from Indiscretion, or from Disor-
VOL. II. B ders,

A. D.

1495.

ders, than from Pusillanimity, or the Weak-
 ness of his Forces, gave great Hopes to the
 People that *Italy*, which had felt so severe
 a Stroke of Fortune, would in a short Time
 recover, and be intirely freed from the In-
 solent Dominion of the *French*. The Con-
 duct of the *Venetians*, and the Duke of
Milan's Resolution and Wisdom were
 cried up to the Skies. Every one allowed,
 that it was through their Means so fine a
 Country had narrowly escaped being en-
 slaved by Foreigners. The People's Ex-
 pectations of a lasting Prosperity were
 justly grounded ; but their Deliverers,
 blinded by ambitious Views, and which
 in the End proved hurtful to themselves,
 infamously sacrificed the public Good to
 private Interest, and, instead of confirming
 and establishing by their Counsels and
 Arms the peaceable Prospect they had
 procured, made use of their Power to
 bring farther Calamities on their Country.
 Ambition, which would not suffer them
 to remain contented within their proper
 Bounds, soon threw every thing again
 into Confusion, and prevented their reap-
 ing the Fruits of a Victory they had after-
 wards

Pernicious
 Effects of
 Ambition.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 3

wards obtained against the *French* who *A. D.*
 were left in the Kingdom of *Naples* : A ^{1495.}
 Victory made easy, through the Negligence of *Charles*, and the Weakness of his Counsels, which were the Occasion that the Succours designed by him when he left *Italy* were never sent ; for neither was any Provision made of a Fleet, nor did the Auxiliaries promised by the *Florentines* ever march.

Lodovico had no sincere Intentions in Artful submitting to a Peace with *Charles*. For ^{Conduct of Lodo-} reflecting, as it is natural to the offending ^{vico.} Person, on the Injuries he had done him, he persuaded himself that he could not with Security rely on his Faith. It had been purely out of a Desire of recovering *Novara*, and freeing his own Territory from the War, that he had been induced to promise what he never intended to perform ; nor is there any Reason to doubt but that the *Venetians* gave their Consent to this Peace with the same Dissimulation, because it relieved them from the immense Expence they were at in the *Novarese*. However *Lodovico* did not think proper as

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1495.

yet to declare his Mind, but wait till a reasonable Opportunity offered ; and therefore fulfilled all those Articles of the Capitulation, which might be said to be in his immediate Power to comply with. He gave Hostages, set the Prisoners at Liberty, paying their Ransom to the Captors with his own Money, restored the Ships taken at *Rapalle*, removed *Fracassa* from *Pisa*, as he could no longer conceal his being in his Pay, and within the Month appointed by the Articles delivered the *Castelletto* of *Genoa* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who went in Person to receive it. But, on the other Hand, he left *Lucio Malvezzo* in *Pisa* with a good Body of Troops, pretending he was in the *Genoese* Pay ; and permitted that two Caragues, which had been equipped at *Genoa* for *Ferdinando*, should sail for the Kingdom of *Naples*, alledging in Excuse that, because they were hired by that Prince before the Conclusion of the Peace, the People of *Genoa* would not consent that they should be refused him ; he also secretly persuaded the *Genoese* not to send the Hostages. But what mostly contributed to the Loss of the
Castles

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Castles of *Naples*, was the Delay which he artfully procured to be made in sending out the six Ships which were destined for their Succour. For as soon as the King had armed his four Ships, and *Lodovico* the two he had engaged for, he prevailed on the *Genoese* to pretend to be alarmed, and oppose their being manned with *French* Soldiers, unless the King would give Security that the Ships should be restored to them, and that they should not be employed against themselves for changing their Government. *Charles* made heavy Complaints to *Lodovico* by proper Persons of these Evasions : His Answer was, that he had fulfilled his Engagement by arming his two Vessels, for no Mention was then made that *French* Troops were to be put on board them ; and as the Command he had in *Genoa* was not absolute, but limited, it was not in his Power to oblige the *Genoese* to act in every thing as he pleased ; and more especially in what they pretended had an immediate Tendency to endanger their Liberties and Safety. To give a greater Force to these Excuses, he prevailed on the Pope to order the

A. D.

1495.

A. D. 1495. *Genoese* and himself, under Pain of Ex-communication, not to let any armed Vessel belonging to the *French* go out of the Port of *Genoa*. These were the Means by which the *French* in *Naples* were frustrated of their chief Succour.

Lodovico obstructed also the Assistance they expected from the *Florentines*, both of Men and Money; for, as soon as the Treaty before mentioned was signed at *Turin*, *Guid' Antonio Vespucci*, one of the *Florentine* Ambassadors, set out with all Expedition with the Articles; but in passing through the Dutchy of *Milan*, where he imagined himself secure, as his Masters had stood neuter, he was stopped by the Duke's Order at *Alessandria*, rifled of all his Papers, and brought to *Milan*. At the Time the *French* quitted *Pisa*, the *Pisans* had sent to implore Assistance of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, who now, by the Interception of *Vespucci* and his Papers, understanding the Agreement and Engagements of the *Florentines*, resolved, with the Approbation of the Pontiff

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tiff and of all the Ministers of the Allies, ^{A. D.} not to suffer *Pisa* to fall into the Hands ^{1495.} of the *Florentines*; for, on Perusal of the *Turin* Treaty, they found that, as soon as *Pisa* and its Territory were reduced, the *Florentines* engaged to provide the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples* with Men and Money. They were all apprehensive that the *Florentines* would become too powerful with the Recovery of *Pisa*, and that their Union with *France*, when they were disengaged from a *Pisan* War, might endanger the Liberties of *Italy*.

BUT the principal View, both of the *Pisa* coveted by *Venetians* and *Lodovico*, was to get *Pisa* ^{Lodovico} into their own Possession. The last had ^{and the} long since a Design on that State; and ^{Venetians.} the *Venetians*, at the Dissolution of the ancient Union of the other Potentates, and the Depression of Part of those who used to oppose their Encroachments, began to entertain Thoughts and Hopes of making themselves Sovereigns of *Italy*, and imagined *Pisa* a very proper Place to begin with, on account of the Conveniency of its Haven of *Livorno*, which they knew

A. D. could not be long preserved by the *Flo-*
 1495. *rentines*, unless they were Masters of
Pisa; and this Port would give them
 the Command of the lower Sea, and
 the City of *Pisa* an easy Inlet into *Tus-*
cany.

BUT the Duke of *Milan* was before-
 hand with them, and, at the very Time
 he was amusing the *Florentines* with vain
 Hopes of his Concurrence with their
 Measures, he ordered his General *Fra-*
cassa, who had an Estate in the *Pisan*, to go
 thither under a Pretence of looking after
 his Affairs; and from *Genoa* he sent a
 fresh Supply of Troops. The *Pisans*
 were likewise fed with Hopes by the
Venetians, who dispatched one of their
 Secretaries to *Genoa*, to intreat that Re-
 public not to abandon the *Pisans*, and to
 levy Men: But the *Genoese* proceeded ve-
 ry slowly in sending them, because whilst
 the Citadel was in Possession of the *French*,
 and, what is much more, whilst their King
 was still in *Italy*, they judged there was no
 great Foundation to be laid on that Project.

ON the other Side as soon as the *Florentines* had heard that the new Convention was signed by their Ambassadors at *Turin*, they augmented their Forces, to be in a Condition of obliging the *Pisans* to comply immediately with the King's Orders when the Treaty should arrive ; which being retarded by the Seizure of their Ambassador, they were determined to lose no Time, but took the Castle of *Palaia*, and then laid Siege to *Vico Pisano*. But either through Misconduct, or for want of a sufficient Force to carry on their Approaches on the Side of *Pisa*, where the *Pisans* had erected a Fort on an Eminence pretty near the Town, they miscarried in their Enterprize. They had attacked it on the lower Side towards *Bientina*, from whence they could do little Damage, for the Town kept an open Communication with *Pisa* and *Cascina*. Another Cause of their ill Success was owing to *Pagolo Vitelli*, who, after receiving Three Thousand Ducats from the *Pisans*, entered *Vico* with his own and his Brother's Regiments, pretending to have received Letters from the King, and Orders

A. D. 1495. ders from the General of *Languedoc*, Brother to the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, who was detained by Sickneſs at *Pietra Santa*, to protect *Piſa* and its Territory till he received contrary Inſtructions. It appeared very ſurpriſing, that the *Piſans* ſhould be protected by the *French* and *Milanefe* Forces at the ſame Time, and be alſo encouraged by the *Venetians*, whiſt that Senate and the Duke of *Milan* were in open War with the King of *France*. *Vitelli's* Reinforcement ſecured *Vico Piſano*, and the Artillery did ſuch Execution amongſt the *Florentines*, who lay in the open Field without Entrenchments, that, after lying before the Place many Days, they were obliged to raiſe the Siege with no ſmall Loſs of their Credit.

Livorno
reſtored
to the
Florentines.

IN the mean Time arrived Diſpatches from the King, Duplicates of which had been ſecretly ſent by different Roads; in conſequence thereof *Saillant*, the Lieutenant-Governor of *Livorno* under *Beaumont*, who had been placed there by the King, immediately reſtored that Port, Town and Caſtle to the *Florentines*; and
Monſ.

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II

Monf. *De l'Isle*, the Commiffary appointed to receive from the *Florentines* the Ratification of the *Turin* Treaty, began to confult with *Entraguès*, the Governor of the Citadel of *Pifa* and of the Castles of *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*, about the Manner and Time of their Delivery. But the Governor whom the King had appointed at his Departure from *Pifa* raifed various Difficulties, either becaufe the *Pifans* had gained his Affection, as they had in general that of all the *French*; or that he had received fecret Orders from *Ligni*, whole Creature and Dependant he was; or from a Love which he bore to the Daughter of *Luca di Lante*, a Citizen of *Pifa*; for it was not likely that he fhould have been bribed by the *Pifans* at a Time they would have been out-bid by the *Florentines*. Sometimes he would give a ftrained Conftruction to the King's Letter; then pretended to have fecret Orders not to reftore them until he received a private Token from *Ligni*. This Wrangling lafted feveral Days, until at laft the *Florentines* were obliged to fend to the King, who was ftill at *Vercelli*,
to

A. D.

1495.

A. D. to desire he would put an End to an
 1495. Affair, that was both injurious to
 them, and very much to his Majesty's
 Discredit.

THE King was exceeding angry at *Entragues's* Disobedience, and, with no small Resentment, ordered *Ligni* to make his Intentions known to him, and see them carried into Execution. He intended to send a Person of Note with these fresh Orders, and a pressing Letter from the Duke of *Orleans*, who was *Entragues's* Liege-Lord. But the Obstinacy of *Ligni* and his Favourites got the Ascendant over the King's weak Counsels: The Dispatches were detained some Days, and then were not carried by a Person of Distinction, but by *Lancepugne*, a private Gentleman, who was accompanied by *Camillo Vitelli*, appointed with Part of the Money which the *Florentines* were to disburse to conduct into the Kingdom of *Naples* the Troops under his Command, which on the first Notice of the King's express Orders had joined the *Florentine* Army.

THESE

THESE Dispatches had no better Effect than the former, tho' the *Florentines* had given *Entragues* Two Thousand Ducats for the Subsistence of his Troops in the Citadel till the King's Answer arrived. *Camillo* got also a Present of Three Thousand Ducats, without which he would have prevented the Delivery of the King's Letter. *Entragues*, by his Manner of acting was supposed to have received, by some bye Way, contrary Directions from *Ligni*; for, after several Days wrangling with the *Florentine* Commissaries, he thought of gaining his Point, without seeming to refuse obeying the King's Commands. The Suburb of *San Marco* leads to the *Florentine* Gate, which is contiguous to the Citadel, and the *Pisans*, with the Governor's Permission, had erected a very large Fort on the Front of this Suburb. They had, besides their Townsmen and a vast Number of Peasants, a Thousand foreign Troops in their Pay; which made *Entragues* imagine them strong enough to repel the *Florentines* from the Suburb. On this Supposition he sent to the *Florentine*

Entragues refused to obey the King's Orders.

A. D. 1495. *tine* Commissaries, to let them know that if they came up to the *Florentine* Gate with their Army, which was not to be done without first taking the Suburb, and the *Pisans* offered any Resistance he would soon force them to abandon the Suburb by his Fire from the Citadel, which commanded it. The *Florentines* gladly embraced the Invitation, and advanced in full Array, and with great Eagerness and Confidence from their Camp at *San Remidio*, which was not far from the Suburb ; and being informed by *Pagolo Vitelli* of the Disposition of the Enemy's Works, they assaulted the Fort in three different Places with such Vigour, that they soon put the *Pisans* to Flight, pursued them, and entered pelmel with them into the Suburb, by the Draw-bridge which joined it to the Fort, killing and making Prisoners many of them. And it is not doubted but that in the Heat of the Pursuit, without any Assistance from the Citadel, they would have entered the Gate, as did some of their Men at Arms, and have taken the City, the *Pisans* being put to Flight, and making no Resistance. But *Entragues* finding Things go contrary to his

his Wishes and Intention, ordered the Canon of the Citadel to fire on the *Florentines*. The Commissary and Generals, amazed at the unforeseen Accident, after many of their Men had been killed and wounded, and amongst the last *Pagolo Vitelli* in his Leg, despairing to take the Town while the Citadel opposed them, beat a Retreat. For a few Days they kept Possession of the Suburb, but not being able to support the Force of the Artillery that continually played upon them, and did them great Damage, they were obliged at last to abandon it, and retire to *Cascina*, intending to wait there till the King should make better Provisions against the manifest Contumacy of his own Servants.

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Entragues fires
on the
Florentines.

THE *Florentines* in the mean time could not avoid meeting with new and dangerous Troubles from other Quarters, excited principally by the Potentates of the League; who, in order to prevent the Conquest of *Pisa*, and to break their Confederacy with *France*, encouraged *Piero de' Medici* to attempt his Restoration to *Florence*, with the Help of *Virginio Orsini*,
who

A. D. who had escaped from the *French* the Day
 1495. of the Battle of the *Taro*, and was retired
 to *Bracciano*. They were both easily per-
Piero de' suaded, for *Virginio*, let the Event be
Medici en- what it would, was glad of an Opportuni-
 couraged ty, at another's Expence, of getting toge-
 by the ther his Partisans and old Soldiers, and re-
Allies to gaining his Reputation in Arms. And
 return to *Piero*, as it is customary for Exiles to em-
Florence. brace all Offers, imagined the Party at-
 tached to his Family, which for a great
 Number of Years had lived with so much
 Grandeur in the State of *Florence*, was nu-
 merous and strong, and the new popular
 Government so odious to many of the
 Nobility, that he could not fail of Suc-
 cess.

IT was believed that this Design had
 been formed first in *Milan*; for when
Virginio made his Escape, he went direct-
 ly to visit that Duke: But it was perfect-
 ed in *Rome*, after a Debate of many Days
 in the Pope's Councils, by the *Venetian*
 Ambassador, and Cardinal *Ascanio*, who
 acted by Commission from his Brother *Lo-*
dovico. The Grounds *Piero* went upon
 were

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were these : He had amassed together, of ^{A. D.} his own Money and what he could borrow ^{1495.} from his Friends, Ten Thousand Ducats ; and, besides the Assistance of *Virginio* with his old Soldiers, *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, who was in the Pay of the *Venetians* and the Duke, was to attack the *Florentines* on the Side of *Bologna*, whilst *Caterina Sforza*, whose Sons were in the Pay of the Duke of *Milan*, was to make a Diverſion from the Cities of *Imola* and *Forli*, which border on their Dominions. There was also good Reason to think that the *Senese* would join them, from their inveterate Hatred to the *Florentines*, and also in Hopes of preserving *Montepulciano*, which they knew they could not keep with their own Force ; for they had lately experienced that, even with the Assistance of the Lord of *Piombino* and *Giovanni Savelli*, hired in common by them and the Duke of *Milan*, they had not been able to get Possession of the Pass of the Marsh of *Chiane*, which is the Boundary, on that Side, between them and the *Florentines*, for a long Tract of Ground. In order to obtain it, the *Senese*, a few Months before, had begun to work on a

A. D. 1495. Fort near the Bridge of *Valiano*, from whence they could batter a Tower of the *Florentines* situated on the Point over against *Montepulciano*. But the Success was quite contrary to their Expectations ; for the *Florentines* alarmed at the Danger of losing the Bridge, by which they would not only be deprived of the Means of molesting *Montepulciano*, but would also leave an Inlet into the Territories of *Cortona*, *Arezzo*, and other Parts of their Dominions on another Side of the *Chiane*, they sent a strong Body of Troops and destroyed the Fort that was building, and wholly to secure the Pass erected another themselves, near the Bridge, but on the other Side of the *Chiane*, large enough to contain a numerous Garrison, and from thence took Advantage to make Excursions to the very Gates of *Montepulciano*, and infested all the Towns of the *Senese* in those Parts ; and, besides this Success, a little after the Passage of the King of *France*, they routed the Troops of the *Senese* near *Montepulciano*, and took *Giovanni Vitelli*, their Commander, Prisoner.

VIRGINIO and *Piero* expected also Reception and some Conveniencies from *Perugia*, not only because the *Baglioni*, who, by Arms and an Attendance of Partisans, despotically in a manner governed that City, were attached to *Virginio*, being every one of them of the *Guelf* Faction ; and because they had maintained a very intimate Friendship with *Lorenzo*, the Father of *Piero*, and afterwards with *Piero* himself, while he was in *Florence*, and had been favoured by them against the Movements of their Enemies ; but also because being Subjects of the Church, tho' more in Shew than in Effect, it was believed that on this Occasion, which did not relate principally to their State, they would act conformably to the Pope's Will, especially as it was enforced by the Authority of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan*.

ON these Grounds *Piero* and *Virginio* set out from the *Roman* Territory, in great hopes that the *Florentines*, divided amongst themselves, and alarmed at their being attacked by so many of their Neighbours

A. D.

1495.

acting under the Authority of the Allies, would hardly be able to resist them. After halting a few Days about *Terni* and *Todi*, where *Virginio* collected Money and Men from his Friends the *Guelfs*, and humbled, at the same Time, the *Ghibellines*, to gratify the *Perugians*, he laid Siege to *Gualdo*, a Town held by the Community of *Foligno*,* but sold before by the Pope for Six Thousand Ducats to the *Perugians*, who were inflamed not so much with an eager Desire of possessing that Town, as with a Party Zeal, which at that Time excited very great Commotions in all the Towns of that District. For a few Days before the *Oddi*, Exiles of *Perugia*, and Heads of the Party opposite to the *Baglioni*, being assisted by the People of *Foligno*, *Assesi*, and other neighbouring Places, which followed the *Ghibelline* Faction, had entered *Corciano*, a strong Place Five Miles from *Perugia*, with Three Hundred Horse and Five Hundred Foot. On this Occasion the whole Country rising in Arms, for *Spoletò*, *Camerino*, and other *Guelf* Places, favoured the *Baglioni*, the *Oddi* a few Days after entered

* *Foligno* is a City at a small Distance from *Perugia*, where the Merchants deal more largely with *England* for Woollen Goods than those of any inland Towns in *Italy*.

entered one Night by Stealth into *Perugia*, ^{A. D.}
 and struck so great a Consternation into ^{1495.}
 the *Baglioni*, that they lost all Hopes of de-
 fending themselves, and began to seek
 their Safety by Flight. But a sudden and
 trivial Accident deprived the *Oddi* of a
 Victory, which the Power of their Ene-
 mies could not have done; for, after they
 had advanced without any Hindrance as
 far as one of the Entrances that opens into
 the principal Square, one of their Party,
 not being able, for the Croud of his Com-
 panions about him, to stretch out his
 Arm for cutting the Chain which, as is
 usual in factious Cities, went across the
 Street, with an Axe he had brought with
 him for that Purpose, cried out aloud,
Fall back, Fall back! that by widening
 themselves they might give him Room to
 work. These Words being repeated from
 one to another by those behind, and under-
 stood by the rest as a Warning to fly, put
 the whole Body of them, without any
 other Rencounter or Impediment, to a
 precipitate Flight, nobody knowing who
 drove them, or why they fled. Their
 Adversaries took the Advantage of this
 Confusion, and joining together followed
 C 3 them,

A. D. 1495. them, killed many, took Prisoner *Troilo Savelli*, a Nobleman sent to the Assistance of the *Oddi* by Cardinal *Savelli*, out of the same factious Zeal, pursued the Runaways home to *Corciano*, and recovered that Town with the same Fury, and, not satiated with the Slaughter of Numbers of those that fled, hanged many of the rest in *Perugia*, with a Cruelty which Partisans usually exercise one upon another. These Tumults occasioned much Bloodshed in the neighbouring Towns, by Means of the Parties, who in those suspicious Times took care to put themselves in Arms, either from a Thirst after the Blood of their Enemies, or out of Fear of being prevented by them. The *Perugians* incensed against the *Folignese* had laid Siege to *Gualdo*, but having given an Assault in vain, they doubted of taking it with their own Forces, and accepted the Assistance of *Virginio*, who offered it to the End that, at the Rumour of a War and of Plunder, Soldiers might the more readily flock to his Standard. But the *Perugians*, however stimulated by *Picro* and *Virginio* openly to assist their Enterprize, or at least to grant

grant them some Pieces of Artillery, and Quarters for their Troops in *Castiglione del Lago*, on the Borders of the Territory of *Cortona*, with the Conveniency of supplying their Army with Provisions, did not grant one of these Demands, though pressed with the greatest Earnestness by Cardinal *Ascanio* in the Name of the Duke of *Milan*, and commanded by the Pope in vehement and threatening Briefs. The Reason was, that after the *Perugians* had taken *Corciano*, the *Florentines* having supplied them with some Money, settled a yearly Provision on *Guido* and *Ridolfo*, the chief Heads of the *Baglioni*, and taken *Gianpagolo*, *Ridolfo's* Son, into their Pay, had won over to their Interest that People; who were besides averse to any Engagements with the Pontiff, because they were apprehensive that he inclined to favour their Adversaries, or would take Occasion from their Divisions to form a Design of reducing their City wholly under Subjection to the Church.

AT this Time *Pagolo Orsini*, who with sixty Men at Arms of the old Regiment of

A. D. *Virginio* had quartered many Days in *Montepulciano*, and afterwards removed to the Castle of the *Pieve*, carried on, by Orders from *Piero de' Medici*, a Plot in the City of *Cortona*, with an Intention to put it in Execution as soon as *Virginio*, whose Troops fell short both in Number and Goodness of what was at first designed, should approach the Place. In this Delay the Plot that was held being discovered by Means of a poor Exile, Part of the Foundation on which *Piero* and his Friend built their Hopes began to fail, and on the other Hand greater Obstacles appeared. For the *Florentines*, solicitous to provide against Dangers, leaving Three Hundred Men at Arms and Two Thousand Foot in the Territory of *Pisa*, had ordered Count *Rinuccio da Marciano*, their General, with Two Hundred Men at Arms and a Thousand Foot to encamp near *Cortona*. Next, to prevent the *Senese* from joining their Troops with *Virginio*, of which they were treating with him, they ordered Three Hundred Men at Arms and Fifteen Hundred Foot to advance to *Poggio Imperiale* on the Borders

A Plot
against
Cortona

Bordert of the *Senese* under the Command *A. D.*
 of *Guido Ubaldo da Montefeltro*, Duke of ^{1495.}
Urbino, whom they had lately taken into
 their Pay ; and to strike the greater Terror
 into the City of *Siena*, they sent with the
 Duke a great Number of *Senese* Exiles.

BUT *Virginio*, after giving several Af-
 faults to *Gualdo*, in one of which *Charles*,
 his natural Son, was wounded by the Shot
 of an Arquebus, bribed, as was thought,
 by those of *Foligno*, raised the Siege
 without making any Terms in favour of the
Perugians, and marched into Quarters, first ^{*Virginio*}
 at *Tavernelle*, and afterwards at *Panicale* ^{raises the}
 in the Territory of *Perugia*, renewing his ^{Siege of}
 Instances to the *Perugians* that they would ^{*Gualdo.*}
 declare against the *Florentines* ; which
 they not only refused, but, dissatisfied with
 his Conduct at *Gualdo*, with Threats, in
 a manner, obliged him to quit their Ter-
 ritory.

PIERO and *Virginio* then, with Four
 Hundred Horse, advanced to *Orsaia* *, a
 Country

* *Orsaia*, more properly *Osseia*, from the Quantity
 of Bones that are found there ; it being near the Lake
Trosmene,

A. D. Country Seat near *Cortona*, in hopes that

1495.

in that City, which, to avoid being damaged by Soldiers, had refused to admit the *Florentine* Men at Arms, some Commotion might arise in their Favour. But when they found all Things quiet, they passed the *Cbiane* with Three Hundred Men at Arms and Three Thousand Foot, in bad Order, as they had been got together with little Money, and encamped in the Territory of the *Senese* near *Montepulciano*, between *Cbianciano*, *Torrita*, and *Asina Lunga*, where, excepting some Excursions for the Sake of Plunder, they remained many Days inactive: For the *Florentines* had passed the *Cbiane* at the Bridge of *Valiano*, and possessed themselves of *Monte a San Sovino*, and the other circumjacent Places opposite to the Enemy.

Bentivoglio
s^{to} declines
joining
Piero.

NOR in *Bologna* was any Movement made, as they were made to believe had been intended; for *Bentivoglio*, resolving not to involve himself in a War with a neighbouring

Trafmen, now the Lake of *Perugia*, where *Hannibal* gained a signal Victory over the *Romans*. At a small Distance there is a River, or Torrent, called *Sanguineto*, from a Report of its having ran Blood the Day of the Battle.

neighbouring and powerful Republic for the Interest of others, tho' he consented that *Giuliano de' Medici*, who was come to *Bologna*, and endeavoured to raise the Friends which his Family used to have in the Mountains of the *Bolognese*, should be treated with much Shew of Respect, would not take up Arms, tho' mightily stimulated by the Confederates, interposing various Delays, and divers Excuses.

THE Allies, indeed, themselves, were not intirely of the same Mind; for the Duke of *Milan*, tho' pleased that the *Florentines* should be so far embarrassed as to render them less able to manage the *Pisans*, yet no ways wished that *Piero de' Medici*, whom he had so much injured, should return to *Florence*; notwithstanding that *Piero*, to convince him that he intended for the future to be intirely directed by his Counsels, had sent his Brother the Cardinal to *Milan*. As for the *Venetians*, they did not chuse to enter into this War without the Duke; besides, the principal Care of both, at this Juncture, was employed in making Provisions for driving
the

A. D. the *French* out of the Kingdom of
 1495. *Naples*.

By these means *Piero* and *Virginio* falling short not only of the Hopes which they had conceived, but also of Money to pay their Troops, which were considerably diminished both Horse and Foot, returned to *Bagno a Rapolano*, in the Territory of *Chiusi*, a City subject to the *Senese*.

Virginio
 goes into
 the *French*
 Service.

Here in a few Days, *Virginio's* Destiny drawing him on, arrived *Camillo Vitelli*, and *Monf. de Gemel*, sent by the King of *France* to take him into the *French* Service, and conduct him into the Kingdom of *Naples*; where, after the Desertion of the *Colonnas*, his Majesty thought he would be of great Service to his Cause. This Offer he accepted, tho' disapproved by many of his Friends, who advised him either to take Pay under the Confederates, who eagerly solicited him to it, or to return into the *Aragonian* Service. But either he was in Hopes of recovering by this means with more Ease the Territories of *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo*; or because, reflecting on the Events that happened in the Loss
 of

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of the Kingdom, and seeing his Adversaries the *Colonnas* in great Authority with *Ferdinando*, he despaired of ever being restored to his former Trust and Credit ; or else, as he declared himself, he did it purely because he was dissatisfied with the Confederate Princes, for not performing their Promises to him in Favour of *Piero de' Medici*. Thus was *Virginio* taken into the French Service, with an Allowance of Six Hundred Men at Arms for himself and others of the House of *Orsini*, but under an Obligation to send his Son *Carlo* into France for Security to the King. Such are the Fruits reaped by those who have once brought their Faith under Suspicion. He received a Sum of Money, and then employed himself in making Preparations for marching, in Conjunction with *Vitelli*, to the Kingdom of *Naples*, where both before the Loss of the Castles, as well as since, continual Efforts had been made on both Sides, in different Quarters, with various Events, and were still prosecuted.

A. D.

1495.

FOR

A. D.

1495.

FOR *Ferdinando* having at first faced the *French* in the Plains of *Sarni*, they retired from *Piedigrotta*, and encamped at *Nocera*, four Miles from the Enemy. Both Armies being pretty equal, the Time was spent in Skirmishes, without any Thing of Moment happening, excepting that about Seven Hundred of *Ferdinando's* Men, between Horse and Foot, conducted, by a deceitful Intelligence, to take Possession of *Gifone*, a little Town near *San Severino*; *Ferdinando* loses 700 Men at *Gifone*. were almost all killed or taken Prisoners. But the Troops of the Pope coming to the Assistance of *Ferdinando* made him superior to the *French*, who on this Occasion quitted *Nocera*, which with the Citadel, was taken by the *Aragonians*, with great Slaughter of those of the *French* Faction.

Nocera
taken by
the *Ara-*
gonians.

In the mean time *Monpensier* had provided with Horses and all Accoutrements the Troops which had marched with him out of *Castel-nuovo*, and having put them in good Order, and received some Reinforcements, advanced to *Ariano*, a Town
very

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very plentiful in Provisions. *Ferdinando*, *A. D.*
 by this Junction, was become inferior to ^{1495.}
 the Enemy, and therefore entrenched
 himself at *Montefuscoli*, with an Intent to
 be on the Defensive, and not to tempt
 Fortune, until he was better supplied by
 the Allies. *Monpensier* made himself
 Master of the Town and afterwards of
 the Castle of *San Severino*; and would, *San Seve-*
 without Doubt, have made greater Pro-^{rino taken}
 gress, if his Money had not failed him:
 For there was none sent from *France*, and
 he had no Means of collecting any in the
 Country. The Want of Pay made his
 Soldiers uneasy, particularly the *Swiss*, and
 was the Occasion that his Performances
 were not answerable to his Forces.

THE Armies spent about three Months
 in these Actions, while Don *Federigo*, in
 Conjunction with Don *Cæsar* of *Aragon*,
 assisted by the People of the Country,
 made War in *Puglia*, and were opposed
 by the Barons and People of the *French*
 Party. In the *Abruzzi* *Gratiano di Guerra*
 made a very brave Defence against
 Count *Pepoli* and other Barons who ad-
 hered

A. D. 1495. hered to *Ferdinando*. The Prefect of *Rome*; to whom the King had given the Command of Two Hundred Men 'at Arms, from his own Territories infested the Towns of *Montecafino* and the Country about it, where the prosperous State of the *French* Affairs began somewhat to decline on account of the long Sicknefs of *Aubigni*, which interrupted the Courfe of his Victories; tho' almost all *Calabria* and the *Principato* were in the Hands of the *French*. But *Gonfalvo* having affembled the *Spanifh* Troops, with the Peafants who were Friends to the *Aragonians*, and increased them by the Reduction of *Naples*, had taken feveral Towns, and kept up the Name of *Ferdinando* in that Province, where the *French* were put to the fame Straits for want of Money as in the Army; yet they recovered and pillaged the City of *Cofenza*, which had revolted.

IN all this Diffrefs and Danger, there appeared no Likelihood of any Affiftance from *France*: For the King ftopped at *Lions*, where he gave himfelf up to Jufts and Tournaments, and all Sorts of Diverfions,

sions, without any Concern about the War, always declaring that he would apply his Thoughts anew to the Affairs of *Italy*, but in Fact shewing that they were least of all in his Memory. *Argenton*, however, was returned from *Venice*, and had reported to his Majesty the Answer of the Senate. They did not pretend, they said, to be at Enmity with the King, and had not taken up Arms till after the Seizing of *Novara*, and then only for the Defence of the Duke of *Milan* their Ally; that therefore they thought it needless to confirm their antient Friendship with a new Peace: That, on the other Hand, they had offered him, by the Mediation of indifferent Persons, to induce *Ferdinando* to pay him a Sum of Money in Hand, and to be bound to a yearly Tribute of Forty Thousand Ducats, and to leave *Taranto* for a certain Time in his Hands as a Security. The King, as if he had had in Readiness a potent and well-provided Succour, would not hearken to this Representation, tho', besides the Difficulties of *Italy*, he was not without Molestations on the Borders of his own Kingdom. For *Ferdinando* King

A. D.

1495.

Argenton
returns
from his
Embassy.

A. D. of *Spain* was come in Person to *Perpignan*, from whence he ordered his Troops to make Excursions into *Languedoc*, where they made Booties, and did a Deal of Damage, and kept the Country under perpetual Apprehensions of greater Movements; and the Dauphin of *France*, the King's only Son, was lately dead: All which Considerations ought to have inclined him the more readily to come to some Agreement, had he been capable of determining either on Peace or War.

1495.
King of
Spain at
Perpignan

Death of
the Dau-
phin.

AT the End of this Year was brought to a Conclusion the Affair of the Citadel of *Pisa*. For the King, being informed of the Obstinacy of the Governor, had sent *M. Gemel*, with rough and menacing Orders, directed not only to him but to all the *French* in Garrison. And not long after he dispatched *Bonne*, Brother-in-Law to the Governor, with an Intent that the representing to him, by a Person in whom he could put Confidence, that it lay in his Power to cancel past Errors by Obedience, and on the other Hand the Mischief that he would incur by persevering in his

Dis-

Disobedience, might dispose him the more readily to execute the King's Commands: But he, continuing as obstinate as ever, despised the Message of *Gemel*, who, after waiting a Day or two, according to his Instructions, set out with *Camillo Vitelli* to wait upon *Virginio*. Neither did the Arrival of *Bonne*, which was retarded several Days by his Confinement at *Sarzana* by Orders from the Duke of *Milan*, remove the Governor from his Obstinacy; on the contrary he brought *Bonne* over to his own Sentiments, and entered into an Agreement with the *Pisans*, by the Mediation of *Lucio Malvezzo* as Agent for the Duke of *Milan*, by Virtue of which, on the first Day of the Year 1496, he resigned into their Hands the Citadel of *Pisa*, on receiving Twelve Thousand Ducats for himself, and Eight Thousand more to be distributed among the Garrison. The *Pisans*, being in no Condition to disburse so much Money, were presented with Four Thousand Ducats by the *Venetians*, with Four Thousand more by the *Genoese*, and with the like Sum by the Duke of *Milan*, who at the same Time, governing himself

A. D.

1495.

1496.

Entragues
delivers
the Citadel
to the *Pi-*
sans.

A. D.

1496.

by his usual Arts, tho' but little trusted, was treating underhand of entering into a close Friendship and Correspondence with the *Florentines*, and had already agreed with their Ambassadors on the Conditions.

It did not seem at all probable that either *Ligni* or *Entragues*, or any one else, would have acted in so extravagant a Manner without the King's Will, especially as it was of considerable Prejudice to his Interest. The City of *Pisa*, tho' *Entragues* had stipulated that it should remain in Subjection to the Crown of *France*, was manifestly left at the Devotion of the Confederates; and, by the Non-performance of the Restitution, the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples* were disappointed of the very necessary Succours of Men and Money promised by the Treaty of *Turin*. And yet the *Florentines*, who with the utmost Attention observed the Progress of the whole Affair, tho' at the Beginning they much doubted, were at last firmly persuaded that the whole Proceeding had been managed in Opposition to the Will of the King;

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King ; which might seem incredible to any one who was not acquainted with the natural Qualifications of that Monarch, with the Peculiarities of his Temper and Manner, the little Authority he had over those who served him, and what Liberties are taken with a Prince who is become contemptible.

A. D.

1495.

THE *Pisans* having taken Possession of the Citadel, immediately set all Hands at Work in demolishing it to the very Foundations ; and knowing their own Strength to be insufficient for their Defence, they sent at one and the same Time Ambassadors to the Pope, to the King of the Romans, to the *Venetians*, *Senese*, *Genoese*, *Lucchese*, and Duke of *Milan*, imploring Succour from every one of them, but with more earnest Sollicitations from the *Venetians*, and from the Duke of *Milan* ; to which Prince they had before been inclined voluntarily to transfer the Dominion of their City, imagining themselves obliged to regard, as their chief End, not so much the Preservation of their Liberty, as how to avoid the Necessity of returning

The Citadel of *Pisa* demolished.

The *Pisans* offer their City to *Lodovico*.

A. D. 1496. under the Power of the *Florentines*, and putting more Confidence in the Duke than in any other Potentate, because he had incited them to rebel, and on account of his Neighbourhood, and because, while they could obtain nothing from the other Confederates but vain Hopes, he had readily sent them Supplies.

Who ac-
cepts it.

BUT the Duke, though passionately desirous of the Sovereignty of *Pisa*, could not prevail with himself to accept it, for fear of giving too great Offence to the other Allies, who had begun to consider the Affairs of the *Pisans* as their common Cause. For this Reason he sometimes advised them to delay a while, sometimes proposed that the Surrender should rather be made publicly in the Name of the *San Severini*, until he saw a proper Opportunity for discovering that it was made in Trust to them for his own Use and Behalf: But as soon as the King of *France* had left *Italy*, thinking himself to stand no longer in Need of the Allies, he determined to accept the Offer.

BUT

BUT this Inclination of the *Pisans* began to grow cool, by the great Hopes they had entertained of receiving Assistance from the *Venetian* Senate ; and they were also persuaded by others that it was easier to defend themselves by the Assistance of Many, than to seek Shelter under the Protection of a single Person, and afforded a better Prospect of maintaining their Liberties. These Considerations had more Weight with them since the Restitution of the Citadel, and they endeavoured as much as possible to gain the Favour of all around them. And the Disposition of the States of *Italy* happened at this Juncture to be very favourable to their Intention : For the *Genoesse*, out of Hatred of the *Florentines*, and the *Senese* and *Lucchese* out of Hatred and Fear, were always ready to assist them ; and, to do it the more effectually, debated among themselves on the Share that each Party was to contribute for that Purpose. The *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, in hopes of annexing *Pisa* to their own Dominions, were solicitous to prevent its returning under the

The Potentates in general wish well to the *Pisans*.

A. D. 1496 Dominion of the *Florentines*: And it was of Advantage to their Cause, that the Pope and the King of *Spain* were pleased to see the Republic of *Florence* mortified, on account of their Inclination to the *French* Interest. On these Accounts they received Encouragement from all Parts; for they obtained of *Cæsar* as a Privilege the Confirmation of their Liberties; and of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan* the same Promises to preserve their Liberty, as they had before by common Consent made them to free them from the *French* Yoke. And the Pope, in the Name of all the Potentates of the League, gave them by a Brief the same Encouragement, promising them a powerful Assistance from every Quarter. But the real Succour came from the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*. *Lodovico* augmented the Troops he had already in *Pisa*, and the Senate sent thither a good Number of Men: And had they both steadily persevered in their Resolutions, and continued their Supplies, the *Pisans* would not have lain under the Necessity of adhering more to the one than to the other, and a Harmony between the Confederates

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Confederates would have been more easily preserved. But it soon happened that the Duke, always extremely tenacious of his Money, and naturally inclined to proceed with Artfulness and Diffimulation, imagining he could not well, at this Juncture, make himself Master of *Pisa*, began to slacken in sending the Supplies demanded by the *Pisans*, which obliged them to apply more earnestly to the *Venetians*, who with a bountiful Hand administered to all their Necessities. This had such an Effect that, not long after the *French* had evacuated the Citadel, the *Venetian* Senate, at the earnest Request of the *Pisans*, resolved to take the City of *Pisa* under their Protection, *Lodovico* rather advising than shewing any Concern about it, without communicating their Design to the other Confederates, though at first they had exhorted them to send Troops to *Pisa*. But the Allies now alledged that for the future they were disengaged from all Obligations to assist the *Pisans*, because they had made a particular Agreement with the *Venetians* without their Consent.

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1496.

The *Pisans* give themselves up to the sole Protection of the *Venetians*.

BUT

A. D.

1496.

BUT it is most certain that neither a Desire of preserving that Liberty for others which they held so dear in their own Country, nor a Regard to the common Safety, as at that Time and afterwards, with fine Talk, they would make the World believe, but the Desire of acquiring the Dominion of *Pisa*, was the sole Motive to the *Venetians* for taking this Resolution, which they doubted not in a short Time to put in Execution with the Consent of the *Pisans* themselves, who would gladly chuse to remain under the Government of the *Venetians*, in order to be secured from ever returning under Bondage to the *Florentines*.

Debates
in the
Venetian
Senate.

THIS Affair, however, passed under several long Debates in the Senate, the Inclination, which was almost universal, being somewhat checked by the Authority of some of the older and more respectable Senators, who opposed the Resolution with great Warmth, declaring that to espouse the Cause of *Pisa* was to involve themselves

selves in a World of Difficulties, because *A. D.*
 that City being at a great Distance from *1496.*
 their Borders by Land, and at a much *Reasons*
 greater by Sea, in which last Case they *against*
 could not get thither without passing *taking the*
 by the Ports and Harbours of other Po- *Pisans*
 tentates, and fetching a long Compass *into their*
 through the two Seas by which *Italy* is *Protection*
 surrounded, it would require an immense
 Charge to defend it against the continual
 Insults of the *Florentines*. It was not to
 be denied that this Acquisition would be
 very commodious for the *Venetian* Empire,
 but the Difficulties in preserving it ought
 first to be weighed, with the Condition
 of the present Times, and what Effects
 such a Resolution might produce. For as
 all *Italy* was naturally jealous of the *Vene-*
tian Grandeur, such an Increase of their
 Power must be very displeasing to every
 one, and therefore might easily occasion
 greater and more dangerous Events than
 many perhaps had imagined. They were
 greatly deceived, who flattered themselves
 that the other Powers would remain idle
 Spectators, and tamely suffer their Empire,
 already

A. D. 1496. already formidable to all the *Italians*, to be increased by so important an Acquisition as the Dominion of *Pisa* : And if, as in former Times, they were not able to hinder it with their own Forces, they had, on the other Hand, since the Ultramontanes had been taught the Way to pass into *Italy*, greater Opportunities to oppose them by having Recourse to foreign Aid, which it was not to be doubted but they would readily invoke, as well out of Hatred as Fear, it being the common Fault of Mankind to chuse rather to be enslaved by Foreigners, than to submit to any among themselves. And who can believe that the Duke of *Milan*, a Man accustomed to suffer himself to be hurried away sometimes by Ambition and Hopes, sometimes by Fear, but at present agitated by Resentment as well as Emulation at seeing the Prey, which he had sought by so many Artifices to procure for himself, carried off to the *Venetians*, would not rather excite new Com-motions in *Italy*, than bear that *Pisa* should be in their Possession ? And tho' his Words and Counsels may shew the contrary,

trary, it may very readily be discerned that they do not flow from the Sincerity of his Heart, but are designed to ensnare us, and artful Counsels given for base Ends. It would indeed be prudent to join with him in the Support of *Pisa*, if it were for no other Reason than to prevent the *Pisans* from surrendering themselves into his Hands; but to make their Cause our own, and to draw upon ourselves so great a Load of Envy and Expence can by no means be the Result of wise Counsel. It ought to be considered how contrary such a Project is to the Work in which they have been employed so many Months, and which they still have upon their Hands; for that Senate took up Arms with so much Cost and Danger, from no other Motive than a Desire to secure themselves and all *Italy* from Barbarians *. They had begun this Work with glorious Success, but as the King of *France* had scarce repassed the Mountains, and still kept in Possession the greatest Part of the Kingdom of *Naples* with a potent Army, how imprudent, how infamous would it

* The *Italians*, even in *Guicciardini's* Time, continued, like the old *Romans*, to give the Name of *Barbarians* to all beyond the *Alps*.

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it be, at a Juncture which called upon them to establish the Liberty and Security of *Italy*, to scatter the Seeds of new Disturbances, which might facilitate the Return of the King of *France*, or the Entrance of the King of the *Romans*, who, as every one knows, has perhaps a greater and more ardent Desire on account of his Pretensions on their State! The *Venetian* Republic was not in such Circumstances, as to be under a Necessity of embracing dangerous Counsels, or taking Hold of immature Occasions: On the contrary, no State in *Italy* was better qualified to wait the Opportunity of Times, and the Maturity of Occasions: For precipitate and dubious Resolutions were proper for those who were in difficult or unlucky Circumstances, or to such as, being stimulated by Ambition, or a passionate Desire to make their Names illustrious, were afraid they should want Time; and not for that Republic, which, seated amidst so much Power, Dignity and Authority, was feared and envied by all the rest of *Italy*; and being, with respect to Kings and other Princes, in a manner immortal and perpetual, and always retaining the same

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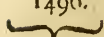
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same Title, *The Venetian Senate*, had no *A. D.*
 Occasion to hasten its Resolutions before ^{1496.}
 the Time: That it was more suitable
 to the Wisdom and Gravity of that Se-
 nate to consider, as it was the Property of
 truly wise Men, the Dangers latent under
 their Hopes and ambitious Desires, and the
 Ends more than the Beginnings of Things,
 to reject rash Counsels, and to abstain, as
 well in the Affairs of *Pisa* as on all other
 Occasions that offered themselves, from
 terrifying and irritating the Spirits of other
 States, at least till *Italy* was better secured
 from Dangers and Jealousies of the Ultra-
 montanes; and to take Care above all
 Things of giving Cause for a new Invasi-
 on of Foreigners: For the Experience
 of a very few Months had demon-
 strated that all *Italy*, when not oppress-
 ed by strange Nations, always follow-
 ed the Authority of the *Venetian Se-*
nate, but while the Barbarians were in
Italy, instead of being followed and feared
 by others, it was obliged to join with the
 rest in their Dread of foreign Forces.

THESE

A. D.

1496.



THESE and the like Reasons, besides having no manner of Effect on an ambitious Majority, were over-ruled by the Persuasions of the Doge *Agostino Barbarico*, whose Authority was grown to such a Height as to exceed the Reverence paid to former Doges, and to deserve rather the Name of Power than Authority. For, besides having enjoyed that Dignity for many Years with happy Success, and his being endowed with many excellent and ornamental Gifts of Nature, he had by his artful Proceeding procured that many of the Senators, that took upon them to oppose those Members who, by the Fame of their Prudence, by their long Experience, and their having obtained the highest Posts, were of the greatest Esteem in the Republic, attached themselves to him, and ordinarily followed his Counsel, rather after the Manner of a Faction, than in a Way becoming the Senatorial Gravity and Integrity. This Doge, being very desirous of leaving a very precious Memory by the Enlargement of Empire, had not satisfied his Thirst after Glory by reflecting that
under

under his Regency the Island of *Cyprus*, ^{A. D.} by the Failure of the Kings of the House ^{1496.} of *Lusignan*, was annexed to the *Venetian* Dominions, but was much inclined to embrace every Opportunity of increasing their State. In Opposition therefore to those who in the *Pisan* Cause advised the contrary, he demonstrated, in a most pathetic Manner, how useful and commo-
dious it would be for the Senate to acquire *Pisa*, and of what Importance for re-
pressing the Audaciousness of the *Floren-
tines*, by whose Means, at the Death of *Filippomaria Visconti*, they had lost the
Opportunity of making themselves Masters of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and who in the
War of *Ferrara*, and in other Enterprises, by their Readiness of Money, had done
them more Harm than any one of the greater Potentates. Great would be their
Regret, he told them, and dear their Re-
pentance, if they let slip the Opportunity :
That *Italy* was not in a Condition for the
other Potentates to oppose them by them-
selves, and there was less Reason to be
afraid that, out of Indignation or Fear on
this Account, they would have Recourse

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to the King of *France*: For the Duke of *Milan*, who had so much injured him, would never venture to trust him; the Pope could not entertain such a Thought, and the King of *Naples*, though he should even have recovered his Kingdom, would never more endure to hear the Name of the *French*: That their Entrance into *Pisa*, though taken ill by the other Powers, was not an Event of so violent a Nature, or the Danger so near, as to precipitate them on such Remedies as are used only last in desperate Cases. For in slow Disorders dangerous Medicines are never hastily administered, Men thinking it their Duty to take Time enough to apply them: And if in the present Weakness and Disunion of the other *Italians* they should out of Timidity reject so fair an Opportunity, it would be in vain to expect to accomplish their Desire with greater Security, when the other Potentates shall have recovered their former Vigour, and are secured from their Fears of the *Ultramontanes*. As a Remedy for too much Fear, they ought to consider that human Actions are all subject to many Hazards,
but

but that wise Men know that all the Evils which may possibly happen do not always come to pass; for many Dangers vanish, either by the Kindness of Fortune or of Chance, and many are avoided by Prudence and Industry. We ought not therefore to confound, as is the Case with many who little consider the Propriety of Names, and the Substances of Things, Timorousness with Prudence, nor imagine those wise who presupposing all Dangers that are dubious as certain, and therefore being afraid of all, regulate their Resolutions as if all were sure to happen. Hence we can by no means call those wise or prudent who are more afraid of the Future than they ought to be; that Name, and that Praise much better agreeing to the Brave, who knowing and considering the Dangers, and by thus distinguishing themselves from the Rash, who neither know nor consider them, reason with themselves and reflect how often Men extricate themselves from a Multitude of Difficulties, sometimes by Chance, sometimes by Resolution. They were then to consult with Hope as well as Fear in their Resolutions, and not by presupposing uncertain

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1496.

Events as certain, so easily reject, as those on the other Side, the profitable and honourable Opportunities: But having before their Eyes the weak and divided State of the other *Italians*, and the Power and great Fortune of the *Venetian* Republic, with the Magnanimity and glorious Examples of their Ancestors, accept with a hearty Will the Protection of the *Pisans*, by which they would effectually make Way for them to obtain the Dominion of that City, which was without Question one of the most convenient Ladders for ascending to the Monarchy of all *Italy*."

THE Senate then received the *Pisans* into their Protection by public Decree, with an express Promise to defend their Liberty. The Duke of *Milan* did not at first consider this Resolution with that Attention which it deserved, because, being excluded by it from keeping any of his Troops in *Pisa*, he was pleased in finding himself freed from that Expence; and, besides, he thought it not inconsistent with his Interest that *Pisa* should at the same Time be the Occasion of great Charges

The *Ven-*
tians take
the *Pi-*
sans under
their Pro-
tection.

Charges to the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, A. D.
1496. persuading himself moreover that, by the Greatness and Vicinity of his State to the *Pisans*, and by the Memory of what he had done for their Deliverance, they would be so devoted to him as always to prefer him before all others. These Imaginations and fallacious Hopes were increased by a Persuasion, in which, little reflecting on the Mutability of human Affairs, he fondly cherished himself, that he had *Fortune* as it were under his Feet, and gave himself out in public as the Son of that Goddess; so vain was he become with prosperous Success, and puffed up with Conceit that through his Means, and by his Counsels the King of *France* had passed into *Italy*! ascribing to himself the Expulsion of *Piero de' Medici* from the State of *Florence* for Disobedience to his Will; the Revolt of the *Pisans* from the *Florentines*, and the Driving the *Aragonians* his Enemies out of the Kingdom of *Naples*; and since that, after he had changed his Sentiments, the League of so many Potentates against *Charles*, as the Effect of his Counsels and Authority, as also the Return of *Ferdi-*

A. D. 1496. *nando* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Departure of the King of *France* out of *Italy* on Conditions unworthy of such a Pitch of Greatness, boasting that by his Industry and Authority he had been able to do more with the Governor of the Citadel of *Pisa*, than even the Will and Orders of his own King. By the same Rules measuring the Future, and judging all others inferior to himself in Prudence and Understanding, he promised himself the constant Direction of the Affairs of *Italy* at his Discretion, and that he could by his Industry turn any one off his Bias. Nor knew he how to dissemble those vain Conceits himself any more than those about him, either in Words or in outward Show, but was rather pleased that every one believed and spoke of him under this Character, and that *Milan* Night and Day resounded with vain Songs, and that every one celebrated in Verse, both in the vulgar and *Latin* Tongue, and with public and flattering Orations, the admirable Wisdom of *Lodovico Sforza*, on whom depended Peace and War in *Italy*, crying up to the very Skies his Name, and his Surname of *Moro*,
which

which Surname was imposed on him from his Youth, because he was of a swarthy Complexion, and because of the Opinion then commonly conceived of his Subtilty, and willingly retained by him while his Government lasted*.

A. D.
1496.

Nor was the Authority of *Moro* less in the other Fortresses of the *Florentines* than it had been in that of *Pisa*, his Enemies seeming as much under his Government in *Italy* as his Friends. For though the King, after hearing the heavy Complaints of the *Florentines*, was extremely moved, and, with an Intent that the other Fortresses might at least be restored to them, sent *Robert de Vests*, a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, with a new Commission, and Letters from *Ligni*, yet his Authority being of no more Value with others than it was with himself, such was the Auda-

E 4

cioufness

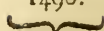
* *Moro* in *Italian* signifies a Black. *Giovio* says he took his Name, not from his Complexion, but from the Mulberry Tree in his Arms; which in *Italian* is called *Moro*. A Mark of *Lodovico's* Vanity was a Picture he hung up in the Castle, representing a Queen, on whose Robes were delineated all the *Italian* Cities, and himself in the Person of a Black with a Brush rubbing off the Dust.

A. D. 1496. cioufness of *Ligni*, who publicly affirmed that he did not proceed without the Will of the King, that the Royal Commands were of little Estimation, thro' means of his own Orders in Conjunction with the ill Disposition of the Governors. Wherefore the Bastard of *Bienne*, who, by Orders and Authority from *Ligni*, commanded the Garrison of *Sarzana*, after he had conducted the *Florentine* Troops and Commissaries in order to receive Possession of it, resigned it into the Hands of the *Genoese* for Twenty-five Thousand Ducats : and his Example was followed by the Governor of *Sarzanello*, who did the same on receiving a certain Sum of Money. The Author and Manager of these Contracts was *Moro*, who also, by sending *Fracassa* with One Hundred Horse and Four Hundred Foot, tho' under the Name of the *Genoese*, to oppose the *Florentines*, prevented them from recovering all the Towns which they had lost in the *Lunigiana*, after they had regained Part of them by taking the Opportunity of employing for that Purpose the Troops sent to receive *Sarzana*.

NOT long after, *Entragues*, who had the Command also of the Fortresses of *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*, and had, besides, got into his Hands *Librafatta*, retaining this last, which, not many Months after, he yielded up to the *Pisans*, sold the others for Twenty Six Thousand Ducats to the *Lucchese*, precisely according to the Appointment of the Duke of *Milan*, who at first was willing that the *Genoese* should have them, but afterwards changing his Mind chose to gratify the *Lucchese*, that they might have some Motive to assist with more Readiness the *Pisans*, and to unite them, by means of this Kindness, the more firmly to his Interest. When these Proceedings were known in *France*, tho' the King shewed much Resentment against *Ligni*, and banished *Entragues* from the whole Kingdom, yet at the Return of *Bonne*, who had not only been a Sharer in the Money of the *Pisans*, but had negotiated in *Genoa* the Sale of *Sarzana*, his Justification was accepted, and an Ambassador of the *Pisans*, who was sent with him to make it believed that they were willing

A. D. ling to be faithful Subjects to the Crown
 496. of *France*, and to take the Oath of Fidelity, was graciously received, tho' not long after, his Commission appearing to want Credentials, he was dismissed. On *Ligni* was laid no other Punishment than, as a Mark of his being excluded from the royal Favour, a Prohibition from the Liberty of sleeping, as usual, in the King's Chamber, to which he was soon restored, *Entragues* only remaining an Outlaw, tho' for no long Space of Time. In these Cases, besides the easy Nature of the King, and other Means and Favours, much is to be ascribed to a Persuasion, not without just Grounds, that the *Florentines* were under a Necessity not to fall out with the King. For the covetous Ambition of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan* being manifest on all accounts, it was taken for certain that, if the *Florentines* were not reinstated in *Pisa*, they would never consent to join in Confederacy with them for the Defence of *Italy*, to which they both endeavoured to induce them by Terror and Menaces, but made, however, no farther Attempt at present, contenting themselves with leaving in *Pisa* a
 Num.

Number of Troops, sufficient to keep the *A. D.*
 Citizens in Heart, and prevent the intire ^{1496.}
 Loss of their Territory, the Danger of the
 Kingdom of *Naples* diverting their
 Thoughts from all other Cares. For *Vir-*
ginio had inlisted at *Bagno a Rapolano*, and
 afterwards in the *Perugian*, where he quar-
 tered for some Days, a great Number of
 Soldiers, and was marching, with others of *Virginio*
 the House of the *Orsini*, towards the *A-* ^{marches}
bruzzi; and the same Road was taken by ^{into the} *Abruzzi*.
 the Troops under the Command of *Ca-*
millo and *Pagolo Vitelli*, who sacked the
 little Town of *Montelione* for refusing to
 supply them with Provisions, which so ter-
 rified the other Towns of the Church, thro'
 which they were to pass, that they readily
 every where furnished them with Victuals
 and Lodging, and were not to be restrain-
 ed by the Pope's severe Commands to the
 contrary. On these Motions, and much
 more from Assurances that new Succours
 were coming from *France* by Sea, it being
 believed that the Affairs of the *French* in
 the Kingdom of *Naples* were to receive
 some mighty Improvement, *Ferdinando*,
 who had no Money, and struggled with
 many

A. D. many Difficulties, finding himself unable
 1496.  to support so great a Burden without
 greater Helps, was obliged to turn his
 Thoughts on some other Means for his
 Defence.

THE other Potentates had not in the
 Beginning comprehended *Ferdinando* in
 their Confederacy ; and tho', after he had
 recovered *Naples*, the Sovereigns of *Spain*
 had made Instances for his Admission, the
Venetians had refused it, from a Persuasi-
 on that his Necessities would favour the
 Design which they had formed of reducing
 under their Subjection some Part of that
 Kingdom.

*Ferdinan-
 do treats
 with the
 Venetians
 for Suc-
 cours.*

FERDINANDO therefore, deprived of all
 other Hopes, for he expected no new Sup-
 plies from *Spain*, and the other Confederates
 would not take upon themselves so great a
 Charge, made the following Agreement
 with the *Venetian* Senate, the Pope, and the
 Ambassadors of *Spain*, by Commission from
 their Sovereigns, being Guarantees : That
 the *Venetians* should send into the Kingdom
 of *Naples* to his Assistance the Marquis of
Mantoua,

Mantoua their General with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, and maintain the Fleet which they had already on the Coasts of that Country, but reserving Liberty to recal those Supplies whenever they should want them for their own Defence: That, for his present Necessities, they should lend him Fifteen Thousand Ducats ; and, that they might have Security for recovering their Costs, *Ferdinando* was to make over to them *Otranto*, *Brindisi* and *Trani*, and consent that they should keep Possession of *Monopoli* and *Pulignano* which they had already in their Hands, but on Condition that they should restore them when they were reimbursed ; but they were not to charge, either on account of the War, or the Garrisons, or Fortifications which they might make to the Places, above the Sum of Two Hundred Thousand Ducats. These Ports, by their Situation on the upper Sea, lying very convenient for the *Venetians*, made no inconsiderable Addition to their Greatness, which now, meeting with none to oppose it, the Counsels of those who would

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A. D. 1496. would have them to be more cautious of spreading all their Sails before a flattering Gale being no longer regarded after accepting the Protection of *Pisa*, began to extend itself thro' all Parts of *Italy*; for, besides the Footing they had got in the Kingdom of *Naples* and in *Tuscany*, they had but lately taken *Astorre**, Lord of *Faenza*, into their Pay, and his State under their Protection, which lay very convenient for keeping in Awe the *Florentines*, the City of *Bologna*, and all the rest of the *Romagna*. Besides these particular Helps from the *Venetians*, *Ferdinando* received other Assistance from the Confederates; for the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*, sent to his Succour some other Men at Arms, listed in common; but the Duke, who had not, as yet, intirely departed from his dissembling Pretences of making no Infringement on the Convention of *Vercelli*, tho' most of these Measures were directed

* *Bembo* says, that the *Faventines* fearing that some of their Exiles, Friends to the *Florentines*, might destroy *Astorre*, sollicitied the *Venetians* to take him under their Protection: They accordingly sent for him to *Venice*, and put a *Venetian* Governor into *Faenza*.

directed by his Counfels, refused to have his Name made use of in the Levies or other outward Services, consenting, however, to contribute privately Ten Thousand Ducats every Month towards the Relief of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

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THE March of the *Orsini* and *Vitelli* into the *Abruzzi* secured that Province, which was in manifest Commotion against the *French*, *Teramo* and the City of *Chieti* being already revolted, and it was apprehended that *Aquila*, the Capital of that Country, would follow their Example. But now that City was confirmed in Obedience to the *French* by those Commanders, who recovered *Teramo* by Capitulation, and sacked *Giulia Nuova*; so that almost the whole Province of the *Abruzzi* was at the Devotion of the King of *France*, and the Affairs of *Ferdinando* manifestly appeared to be on the Decline in all Parts of the Kingdom. For almost all *Calabria* was in the Power of *Aubigni*, tho' the tedious Indisposition by which he was laid up in *Jerace*, gave an Opportunity to *Gonsalvo*, by means of the *Spanish* Troops, and
the

A. D. 1496. the Forces of some of the Lords of the Country, to keep alive the War in that Province. *Gaeta*, with many of the circumjacent Towns, was in the Hands of the *French*, the Prefect of *Rome*, with his own Regiment, and the Forces of his own State, recovered the little Towns of *Montecafino*, and infested the *Terra di Lavoro* on that Side ; and *Monpensier*, tho' greatly hindered from employing his Forces by Want of Money, obliged *Ferdinando*, who laboured under the like Scarcity of Money, and of many other Provisions, to shut himself up in strong Places, and to put all his Hopes in the Arrival of the *Venetian* Succours, which, because the Agreement between them had been made but a little before, could not be ready so soon as Occasion might require. *Monpensier* attempted to get Possession of *Benevento* by Treachery ; but *Ferdinando*, who had some Suspicion of it, suddenly entered the Place with his Troops. The *French* approaching *Benevento*, posted themselves at the Bridge of *Finocchio*, and took Possession of *Fenezano*, *Apice*, and many other neighbouring Towns. Here labouring under a
Scarcity

Scarcity of Provisions, and the Time being near at hand for collecting the Duty on the Sheep of *Puglia*, one of the most important Revenues of the Kingdom of *Naples*, for it used to amount yearly to Eighty Thousand Ducats, and is all collected in about a Month *, *Monpensier*, to deprive the Enemy of that Advantage, and not less to supply the extreme Necessities of his Troops, put himself on his March for *Puglia*, one Part of which Province was in his Possession, and another in the Hands of the Enemy. Nor was *Ferdinando* very far behind him, intent rather on obstructing the Progress of the Enemy by some Art or Diligence, than on coming to a Battle before his Auxiliaries were arrived.

At this Time arrived before *Gaeta* the French Fleet, consisting of Fifteen large and Seven smaller Ships, on board of which were embarked at *Savona* Eight

French
Fleet at
Gaeta.

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F

Thousand

* *Giovio* says above One Hundred Thousand Ducats in Gold, and that *Monpensier* and *Perfi* acted imprudently in carrying the War into *Puglia* on this Account, which was against the Sentiments of *Beaucaire*, who persuaded them to keep the Army near *Naples*.

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Thousand *German* Foot, levied in the Dominions of the Duke of *Guelderland*, and also those *Swiss* and *Gascons* that the King had before appointed to be transported on board the large Ships that were to be fitted out at *Genoa*. At the Approach of this Squadron *Ferdinando's* Fleet, which was cruising before *Gaeta* for preventing all Supplies of Victuals from entering it by Sea, being but ill provided with Necessaries for want of Money, sheered off. The *French* Fleet then entered the Port without Opposition, and landing their Troops took *Itri* and other neighbouring Places, and committed great Ravages all over the Country, and were in Hopes of getting Possession of *Sessa* by means of *Gianbatista Caracciolo*, who engaged to introduce them secretly into the Place; but Don *Federigo*, who had retired with the Troops under his Command into the Neighbourhood of *Taranto*, but was since ordered by *Ferdinando* to take the Charge of *Naples*, on Notice of the Plot, suddenly entered the City, and seized the Bishop and
some

some others who were privy to the Con-
 spiracy *. A. D.
1496.

IN *Puglia*, where lay the Strefs of the War, each Party getting the better by Turns, the Events proved various. The Season was so severe that both Armies were distributed in the neighbouring Towns, no single Place being large enough to quarter either Army: Their chief Employ was to make Excursions with large Parties of Horse, and to carry off Cattle; in which they gave a greater Proof of their Dexterity than of their Valour.

FERDINANDO had taken up his Residence with Part of his Troops in *Foggia*, having disposed of the rest in *Troja* and *Nocera*. Here, on Notice that between *San Severo*, where lay *Virginio Orsini*, come to the Assistance of *Monpensier* with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and the Town of *Porcino*, in which was *Mariano Savelli* with an Hundred Men at Arms, was drove together a prodigious Number of Sheep and other Cattle, he

F 2

took

* *Ferdinando*, a little before his Death, ordered the Bishop to be beheaded. *Bembo*,

A. D. took with him Three Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horſe*, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, and arrived by Break of Day at *San Severo*, where he poſted himſelf with his Foot and Men at Arms in order to oppoſe *Virginia* if he made any Motion, and detached his light Horſe †, who, diſperſing themſelves all over the Country, carried off a Booty of about Sixty Thouſand Head of Cattle, and forced *Mariano Savelli*, who had ſallied out of *Porcino* to diſturb them, to retreat with the Loſs of Thirty Men at Arms.

THIS Damage, with the Diſgrace received, put *Monpenſier* on marching towards *Foggia* for the Recovery of the Prey and of the loſt Honour, where, Fortune favouring him beyond his Expectations, he met between *Nocera* and *Troja* Eight Hundred *German* Foot, who came by Sea to enter into the Pay of *Ferdinando*. They had

* *Giovio* ſays Seven Hundred, and attributes all the Glory to *Camillo Vitelli*, who here, for the firſt Time, made Uſe of Men with Guns on Horſeback.

† Theſe light Horſe were *Greeks*, liſted in *Macedonia* by the *Venetians*.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

69

had left their Quarters at *Troja*, and rather hurried on by their own Rashness than in Pursuance of the King's Orders, and contrary to the Advice of *Fabritio Colonna*, who also quartered in *Troja*, were marching with a Design to join *Ferdinando* at *Foggia*. Finding it out of their Power to save themselves either by fighting or flying, and refusing Quarter they were all killed in Fight, but made the Enemy pay for the Victory with their Blood.

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Eight
Hundred
Germans
cut to
Pieces at
Foggia.

MONPENSTER, after this, presented himself with his Army in Order of Battle before *Foggia*; but *Ferdinando* suffering no Sallies to be made but only by the light Horse, the *French* moved off, and encamped at the Wood of the *Incoronata**, from whence, after they had stayed Two Days under a Scarcity of Provisions, and recovered the best Part of their Cattle, they returned back again before *Foggia*, and, after a Night's Stay, returned the next Day to *San Severo*, but not with all the Prey they had recovered, for in their Return thither Part of it was carried off by

F 3

Ferdinando's

* The *Incoronata* is a Church in the middle of a Wood.

A. D. *Ferdinando's* light Horse. This Harrying
1496.

of the Cattle was the Occasion that either
of the Parties reaped but very little. Bene-
fit from the Duty on Wool. A few Days
after the *French* were forced to decamp for
Want of Provisions, and marched to
Campobasso, which was in their Hands,
from which Place they took by Storm *Cog-*
lioneffa, or *Grigonisa*, a neighbouring
Town, where the *Swiss*, contrary to the
Will of their Commander, committed
such Cruelties, as indeed filled the Country
with Terror, but alienated the Affections
of Multitudes *; while *Ferdinando*, in-
tent on making the best Defence he
could, and waiting the Arrival of the
Marquis of *Mantoua*, in the mean time
put his Troops in good Condition with
the Help of Sixteen Thousand Ducats
sent him by the Pope, and with what
Money he had been able to collect by him-
self. At this Juncture the *Swiss*, and the
other Foot which came by Sea to *Gaeta*,
joined *Monpensier*; and on the other Side
the

Coglioneffa
taken
by Assault

* *Giovio* says the Town surrendered, and was after-
wards demolished by the *French* and *Germans*, the Men
killed, and the Women ravished.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

71

the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who had entered the Kingdom, and proceeded to *Cappua* by the Road of *San Germano*, and in his March taken, either by Force or Capitulation, many Towns, tho' of small Importance, about the Beginning of *June*, joined the King at *Nocera*, whither Don *Cæsar* of *Aragon* also conducted the Troops that had been quartered about *Taranto*. Thus were almost all the Forces of the *French* and *Ferdinando* assembled in neighbouring Places, the *French* superior in Infantry, and the *Italians* in Cavalry, so that the Event of the Contest seemed very doubtful, none being capable of judging to which of the two Parties Victory was most likely to incline.

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THE King of *France* was consulting on Ways and Means for succouring his People ; for as soon as he was informed of the Loss of the Castles of *Naples*, and that, because the Fortresses were not restored to the *Florentines*, his Troops were disappointed of the *Florentine* Money and Auxiliaries, roused from that drowsy Negligence in which he seemed to have returned into

A. D.

1496.

France, he began to turn his Thoughts anew to the Affairs of *Italy* : And the better to disengage himself from every Thing that might retain him, and that, by shewing his Gratitude for the Benefits received in his Dangers, he might be enabled with the more Confidence to have Recourse once more to the Assistance of Heaven, he set out Post for *Tours*, and afterwards for *Paris*, to fulfil the Vows which he had made to *St Martin* and *St Denis* on the Day of the Battle of *Fornuovo*. From thence he returned with the same Expedition to *Lions*, where he grew every Day more eagerly bent on his Project, to which he was very much prompted by his natural Inclination, ascribing to himself the greater Glory, for having acquired so fine a Kingdom, and been the first of all the Kings of *France*, who, after many Ages, had in Person revived the Memory of the *Gallic Arms* and Victories ; and persuading himself that the Difficulties he had encountered in his Return from *Naples*, had proceeded more from his own Disorders than from the Strength or Valour of the *Italians*, whose Name in military Affairs

Affairs was no longer of any Value with the *French*. His Ardor was still heightened by the eager Sollicitations of the *Florentine* Ambassadors, of the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, and of *Gia jacopo di Trivulzi*, who was returned to Court for that Purpose. With these joined in the same Instances *Vitellozzo* and *Carlo Orsini*, and afterwards Count *Montorio*, sent on Purpose by the Barons of the *French* Party in the Kingdom of *Naples* ; and to enforce all, the Seneschal of *Beaucaire* was come by Sea from *Gaeta*, and gave great Hopes of Victory, if proper Succours were sent without Delay ; but at the same Time assured his Majesty, that intire Destruction must soon ensue, if the Affairs of that Kingdom were any longer neglected. Besides these, some of the great Lords of *France*, who had formerly been averse to an *Italian* Expedition, encouraged the Undertaking, on account of the Dishonour that would result to the Court of *France*, from suffering an Acquisition made to be lost ; but much more in Consideration of the Damage that would be sustained by the Loss of such a Number of the *French* Nobility

A. D.
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Nobility in the Kingdom of *Naples*. Nor did these Designs receive any Check from the Movements threatened by the King of *Spain* on the Side of *Perpignan**; for the Preparations being greater in Name than in Fact, and the Forces of that King of more Service in defending his own Kingdoms than for attacking those of others, it was judged sufficient, for removing all Apprehensions, to have sent to *Narbonne* and the other Towns on the Frontiers of *Spain* a good Number of Men at Arms, not without a competent Body of *Swiss*.

THE King then summoning a Council of all the Lords and Persons of Eminence that were found at Court, it was resolved that *Trivulzi* should, with all possible Speed, repair to *Asti*, with the Title of *The King's Lieutenant*, and take with him Eight Hundred Lances, Two Thousand *Swiss*, and Two Thousand *Gascons*:
That

* *Ferdinando* of *Spain* attempted to frighten *Charles* from the *Italian* Enterprize, by making a great Show of Troops at *Perpignan*; but he never intended to make War, because his Coffers were empty. *Giovio*.

That soon after the Duke of *Orleans* should pass the Mountains with more Troops; and at last the King in Person, with all the other Provisions, should pass with so formidable an Appearance, that it was not to be doubted that the States of the Duke of *Savoy*, and of the Marquises of *Monferrato* and *Saluzzo*, which lay very commodious for making War against the Dutchy of *Milan*, would be at his Devotion. It was also believed that all the *Swiss* Cantons, except the Canton of *Bern*, which had engaged not to act against the Duke of *Milan*, would, with the greatest Alacrity, enter into his Pay. These Resolutions were prosecuted with the greater Consent from the Ardor of the King, who, before he entered the Council, had made pressing Intreaties to the Duke of *Bourbon*, that he would, in the most pathetic Manner, represent the Necessity of prosecuting the War with a very powerful Force : And afterwards in Council with the same Warmth he rebuked the Admiral, who, with some others of the same Sentiments, had endeavoured, not so much by directly contradicting, as by propounding a Multitude

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1496.

A. D. 1496. *titude of Difficulties, indirectly to intimidate the Hearts of the rest, openly declaring that it was not in his Power to take any other Resolution, because the Will of God constrained him to return in Person. In the same Council it was resolved that Thirty Ships, among which was the *Normanda* †, a Vessel of huge Bulk, and another large Caraque belonging to the Knights of *Rhodes*, should sail from the Ocean, where they were stationed, to the Ports of *Provence*, where Thirty light Gallies and Galleons would be equipped for conveying to the Kingdom of *Naples*, under the Protection of so large a Fleet, a vast Supply of Troops, Provisions, Ammunition and Money; but, without waiting, however, till this Navy could be got in Readiness, a Squadron should immediately be dispatched with Men and Provisions on that Expedition. Besides all those Appointments it was resolved that *Rigault*, the King's Major-domo, should be sent to *Milan*. For tho' the Duke had not granted the two Caragues,*

† The *Normanda*, according to *Bembo*, was of Twelve Hundred Ton.

Caraques, nor suffered an Armament to be made for the King at *Genoa*, and had only restored the Ships taken at *Rapalle*, but not the Twelve Gallies detained in the Port of *Genoa*, yet he endeavoured to excuse himself by the Disobedience of the *Genoese*, and continually held various Negotiations, by his Agents, with the King, to whom he had anew sent *Antonio Maria Palavifino* to assure him that he was disposed to observe the Convention made with him, and to demand a farther Term for the Payment of the Fifty Thousand Ducats to the Duke of *Orleans*. Though he would have reaped but little Benefit by these Arts, the King being very well acquainted with his Intentions, as well from other Actions, as because it had come to light by his Letters and Instructions which had been intercepted, that he was continually stimulating the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Spain* to invade *France*, yet, in Hopes that Fear would induce him perhaps to what was contrary to his Will, *Rigault* was ordered to signify to him, without disputing on former Infringements, that it lay in his Power to cancel the Memory of

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A. D. 1496. of past Offences by setting himself seriously to observe his Engagements in restoring the Caragues, and permitting an Armament at *Genoa*. He was besides instructed to acquaint him with the King's Passage, which would prove to his very great Detriment, if, while he was offered the Means, he did not renew that Friendship which the King was persuaded he had, rather out of groundless Suspicion than for any other Cause, imprudently despised.

THE Fame of the Preparations that were making having reached *Italy*, had effected great Alteration, in the Confederates, and above all in *Lodovico Sforza*, who being the first exposed to the Violence of the Enemy found himself in very great Perplexity, especially when he understood that, after *Rigault* had set out from the Court, the King had with very rough Words and Looks dismissed all his Agents. Revolving therefore in his Mind the Greatness of the Danger, and that all the Mischiefs and Vexations of the War would be confined within his State, he would easily have complied with the King's Request,

if

if he had not been hindered by a Jealousy arising from a Consciouſness of the Injuries he had done him, which created such a Distrust on all Sides that it was more difficult to find Means for the Security of each Party, than to come to an Agreement in Points about which they differed; for what might be agreed upon for securing one Side rendering the Security of the other precarious, none was willing to entrust with the Faith and Honour of another what that other refused to entrust with him. Thus *Lodovico*, forced by Necessity to take such a Resolution as was most disagreeable to him, in order to ward at least the Danger for a while, continued to use the same Arts with *Rigault* which he had put in Practice till this Time, giving him hearty Assurances that he would make the *Genoeſe* comply whenever the King would give sufficient Security, in the City of *Avignon*, for the Restitution of the Ships, and that each Party should enter into Engagements, giving Hostages for the Performance, to attempt no Innovations to the Prejudice of the other. This Negotiation, which lasted many Days, had at last,

A. D.

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A. D. last, on account of the many Cavils and
 1496. Difficulties that were started, the same Effect as the rest.

BUT *Lodovico*, not to spend the Time unprofitably, had, during this Negotiation, dispatched Expresses to the King of the *Romans*, to invite him to pass into *Italy*, by means of his Assistance and that of the *Venetians*; and had sent Ambassadors to *Venice* to solicit the Senate to guard against the common Danger by concurring in this Expende, and to send such Supplies towards *Alessandria* as should be necessary for opposing the *French*. This they very readily offered to do, but did not shew the same Facility for the Passage of the King of the *Romans*, who was no great Friend to their Republic on account of their Possessions on the *Terra-Firma* belonging to the Empire and the House of *Austria*; nor were they content that, at the common Expende, should be conducted into *Italy*, an Army wholly depending on *Lodovico*. The Duke however continued his Sollicitations, for, besides other Reasons that moved him to it, he was jealous of the
 Stay

Stay of the *Venetian* Forces by themselves A. D.
1496.
in the State of *Milan*, the Senate, who knew him to be of a very timorous Disposition, being apprehensive that he would precipitate himself into a Reconciliation with the King of *France*, gave at last their Consent, and for the same Reason sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar*†.

THE *Venetians* and the Duke were still apprehensive that as soon as the King had passed the Mountains, the *Florentines* would make some Attempt on the *Rivieras* of *Genoa*. They requested therefore of *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, whom the Confederates had taken into their Pay, with Three Hundred Men at Arms, to attack the *Florentines* on the Borders of *Bologna*, assuring him that at the same time they should be molested by the *Senese* and the Troops that were in *Pisa*; and offering to engage themselves, if he could make himself Master of the City of *Pistoia*, to preserve it for him. But tho' *Bentivoglio* gave them

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† The *Italians* gave *Maximilian* and his Predecessors the Name of *Cæsar*; tho', as said before, not of Emperor, till they were crowned by the Pope.

A. D. 1496. Hopes of his Compliance, yet having his Intentions far different, and being under no small Apprehensions of the Coming of the *French*, he sent privately to the King to excuse himself for what was past on account of the Necessity arising from the Situation in which *Bologna* is placed, and offering to become his Dependent, and, out of Veneration to him, to abstain from molesting the *Florentines*.

BUT the Will of the King, tho' very ardent, was not sufficient to put in Execution the Measures that had been resolved, though his own Honour, and the Danger of the Kingdom of *Naples* required all possible Expedition. For the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, in whose Hands, besides the Management of the Finances, was the Direction of the whole Administration, though he did not openly oppose, yet so long retarded the whole Proceeding, by delaying the necessary Payments, that not one Provision was brought to Effect. His Motive to this Conduct was either an Opinion that the best Means to perpetuate his Greatness was, by incurring no Expence

pence but what conduced to the present Profit or Pleasures of the King, to have no Occasion for daily representing the Difficulties of Affairs, and the Necessity of Money ; or because, as many suspected, corrupted with Rewards and Promises, he held a secret Correspondence either with the Pope or the Duke of *Milan*. Nor was this remedied by the Persuasions and Commands of the King, sometimes delivered in very angry and reproachful Words ; for the Cardinal knowing his Temper satisfied him with Promises contrary to Effects.

THE Execution of the Measures designed beginning, by the Cardinal's Contrivance, to be thus retarded, the whole Project was in a manner disconcerted, and every Thing in Confusion by an unexpected Accident. For at the latter End of *May*, when every one expected that the King would in a short Time put himself in Motion in order to pass into *Italy*, he took a Resolution to go to *Paris*, alledging that, according to the Custom of antient Kings, he intended, before his

A. D. 1496. Departure from *France*, to take Leave, with the usual Ceremonies, of *St. Denis*, and in his Passing by *Tours* of *St. Martin*; and that having proposed to pass into *Italy* plentifully provided with Money, that he might not be reduced to the same Necessity in which he was the Year before, it was requisite to induce the other Cities of *France* to accommodate him with Money by the Example of the City of *Paris*, from which he could obtain no Supplies if he went not thither in Person; and his Presence so near at Hand in those Parts would quicken the March of the Men at Arms who were in Motion from *Normandy* and *Picardy*; promising also that, before his Departure, he would dispatch the Duke of *Orleans*, and that within a Month's Time he should be returned to *Lions*. But the truer and principal Motive to this Journey was believed to be an Amour with a Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber, her Majesty being a little before gone to *Tours* with her Court. Nor could the Counsels of his Ministers, nor the pressing Intreaties and even Tears of the *Italians*, remove the King from this Resolution,

Resolution, though they demonstrated to him how detrimental it must be to lose the Time proper for War ; especially in such urgent Necessities of his own People in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and how prejudicial the Report, which would fly thro' *Italy*, that he removed at a Distance when he ought to have approached near ; that the Credit of Enterprises is altered by every little Accident, by every slight Rumour, and that it is very difficult to be recovered when once it begins to decline, though the Performances were afterwards much greater than Men had at first promised themselves. But the King, disregarding these Admonitions, after staying a Month longer at *Lions*, set out on his Journey, and never dispatched the Duke of *Orleans*, but sent *Trivulzio* with a few Troops to *Asli*, not so much to make any Provision for the War, as to confirm in his Interest *Filippo*, very lately succeeded by the Death of the little Duke, his Nephew, to the Dutchy of *Savoy*. Nor did he before his Departure make any other Provision for the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples*, than to send Six Ships loaded with Provisions to

A. D.
1496.

A. D. *Gaeta*, giving Hopes that they should soon
 1496. be followed by the grand Fleet, and to
 procure, by means of some Merchants at *Flo-*
rence, tho' but slowly, a Remittance of For-
 ty Thousand Ducats to *Monpensier*, to
 whom the *Swiss* and *Germans* had protest-
 ed that if they were not paid before the
 End of *June*, they would desert him, and
 pass over to the Camp of the Enemy.
 The Duke of *Orleans*, the Cardinal of *St.*
Malo, and the whole Council remained at
Lions, with Orders to hasten the Prepara-
 tions, in which, if the Cardinal proceeded
 but slowly when the King was present, he
 was much slower in his Absence. But
 the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples*
 were in no Condition to wait the Slowness
 of these Remedies, the War being redu-
 ced within Bounds by the Assembling
 of the Forces from all Quarters, and by
 a Multitude of Difficulties which discovered
 themselves on both Sides, so that it was
 necessary to come to a speedy Decision.

FERDINANDO, after joining the *Vene-*
tians, had taken *Castel Franco*, where he
 also

also received a Reinforcement of Two ^{A. D.} Hundred Men at Arms under ^{1496.} Giovanni Sforza Lord of *Pesaro*, and Giovanni Gonzaga, Brother to the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who were General Officers in the Service of the Confederates; so that now his Army consisted of Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, Fifteen Hundred light Horse, and four Thousand Foot. The *French* at the same Time were encamped at *Circelle*, Ten Miles from *Benevento*; *Ferdinando* approached within Four Miles of them, and laid Siege to *Frangete di Monteforte*, which Place being well provided was not taken at the first Assault. The *French* decamped from *Circelle* in order to relieve it, but did not arrive in Season, the *German* Foot, who were in Garrison, for fear of a second Assault, surrendering, and leaving the Town to the Mercy of the Enemy. Had the *French* now known the Opportunity it would have been the Means of their Felicity, if, either through Imprudence or ill Fortune, they had not let it slip. For almost all allow that they might that Day have easily routed the Enemy's

A. D. 1496. Army, which, the greatest Part of them being busy in plundering *Frangete*, paid no Attention to the Orders of their Generals, who, perceiving that between the *French* and their Camp there was only one Valley, used their utmost Endeavours to get the Soldiers together. *Monpensier* was sensible of the grand Opportunity, as was also *Virginio Orsini*, the first of whom commanded, and the other, with Tears in his Eyes shewing the Victory certain, intreated the Men to pass the Valley without Delay, while the Camp of the *Italians* was full of nothing but Disorder and Tumult, and the Enemy partly busied in pilaging, and partly employed in carrying off the Plunder, were deaf to the Commands of their Officers. But *Persi*, one of the principal Commanders under *Monpensier*, prompted either by juvenile Levity, or, as is rather believed, by Envy to the General's Glory, by representing the Disadvantage of passing the Valley, and climbing as it were under the Feet of the Enemy, with the strong Situation of their Camp, and openly dissuading the Soldiers from fighting, defeated that salutary Counsel ;

fel ; and it is supposed that at his Instigation the *Swiss* and *Germans* mutinied and demanded their Pay. *Monpensier*, therefore, being obliged to retire, returned before *Circelle*, where, the next Day, in storming the Place, *Camillo Vitelli*, having advanced to the Walls, and valiantly acted the Part of an Officer and of a Soldier, lost his Life by a Blow on his Head with a Stone. On this Accident the *French* decamped without taking the Place, and marched towards *Arriano*, disposed however, when an Opportunity offered, to try the Fortune of a Battle. Quite contrary to this Resolution was that of the *Aragonian* Generals, and especially of the *Venetian* Proveditors, who were firmly resolved not to hazard an Engagement. For knowing that the Enemy began to feel the Want of Provisions, and that they were without Money, and seeing that the Succours from *France* were long expected in vain, they were in Hopes that their Distresses and Inconveniencies would increase upon them daily, and that in the other Parts of the Kingdom they would be reduced to greater Straits. For in the *Abruzzi* (where

Annibale,

A. D.
1496.

*Camillo
Vitelli
killed at
Circelle.*

A. D.

1496.

Annibale, the natural Son of the Lord of *Camerino*, who had entered himself a Volunteer in the Service of *Ferdinando*, with Four Hundred Horse at his own Expence, had lately routed the Marquis of *Bitonto*,) the Duke of *Urbino* was expected with Three Hundred Men at Arms. He was lately taken into the Pay of the Confederates, whose Fortune and more advantageous Offers chusing rather to follow, he had abandoned the Service of the *Florentines*, to which he stood bound for more than a Year yet to come, alledging in his Excuse that as a Feudatory of the Church he could not but obey the Commands of the Pope. *Gratiano di Guerra* being on his March to oppose him, and attacked on the Plain of *Sermona* by Count *Celano* and Count *Pepoli* with Three Hundred Horse, and Three Thousand Foot of the Peasants, put them to Flight.

THE Fortune of the *French* had manifestly begun to decline ever since they had lost the Opportunity of obtaining a Victory near *Frangete*, Difficulties, almost infinite, concurring at once to distress them, as an

extreme Want of Money, a Scarcity of *A. D.*
Provisions, the Hatred of the People, the *1496.*
Disagreement of the Generals, the Disobedience of the Soldiers, and the Desertion of Multitudes from the Camp; some leaving it out of Necessity, others out of Choice. For neither had they the Means to collect any considerable Sums in the Kingdom of *Naples*, nor had they been provided with any Quantity of Money from *France*, the Supply of the Forty Thousand Ducats from *Florence* having been too long retarded. Hence for Want of Money, and from the Vicinity of many Towns that were covered by the Nearness of the Enemy, they were disabled from making the necessary Provision of Victuals, and the Army was full of Disorders, the Soldiers much dispirited, the *Swiss* and *German*s every Day, in a tumultuous Manner, demanding their Pay, and the Dissensions between *Persi* and *Monpensier* being of considerable Prejudice to all their Resolutions: Necessity therefore constrained the Prince of *Bisignano* to leave the Camp with his Troops, and march to the Protection of his own State, which was under Apprehensions

A. D. prehensions from the Forces of *Gonsalvo*.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Numbers also of the Soldiers of the Country daily left their Colours, not only because they received no Wages, but on account of their ill Treatment by the *French* and *Swiss* in the Division of the Prizes, and in the Distribution of Provisions. By these Difficulties, and especially by the Scarcity of Provisions the *French* Army was necessitated to retire by little and little from one Place to another, which greatly diminished its Reputation with the People. And tho' they were continually followed by the Enemy, they had never any Hopes of having it in their Power to engage, which was what *Montpensier* and *Virginio* above all things desired ; for the *Aragonians*, that they might not be forced to fight, always took care to encamp in strong Places, and where they might not suffer for want of Conveniencies. But *Filippo Rosso*, a *Venetian* Officer, with his Troop of One Hundred Men at Arms, marching to join them, was routed by the Prefect of *Rome*. At last the *French* Army being encamped under *Montecalvoli* and *Casalarbone* near *Arriano*, *Ferdinando* approaching them

them within Bow-shot, but still posting himself in a strong and advantageous Situation, reduced them to great Straits for want of Provisions, and also cut off their Water. They resolved therefore to decamp and march for *Puglia*, where they were in Hopes to find no Want of Victuals; and being apprehensive, from the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, of the Difficulties that may be expected to attend Armies when on a Retreat, they silently decamped in the Beginning of the Night, and marched Twenty-five Miles without stopping. *Ferdinando* followed them in the Morning, but despairing to overtake them, sat down before *Giesualdo*, which Town he took the same Day, tho' it had formerly sustained a Siege of Fourteen Months. The *French* were greatly deceived in this Event; for having determined to stop at *Venosa*, a Town strong by Situation, and abounding in Provisions, their Persuasion that *Ferdinando* would not so soon become Master of *Giesualdo*, was the Cause of losing so much Time at *Atella*, a Town which they had taken and plundered, that before they left it they

were

A. D.
1496.

Giesualdo
taken.

A. D. 1496. were overtaken by *Ferdinando*, who after the taking of *Giesualdo* had hastened his March. And tho' they repulsed a Part of his Troops which advanced before the rest, yet finding themselves unable to make good their Retreat to *Venosa*, they took up their Quarters in *Atella*, Eight Miles short of it, with an Intention to wait for Relief from some Quarter or other, and in Hopes that by the Vicinity of *Venosa* and many other circumjacent Towns in their Possession they should not want for Provisions. *Ferdinando* immediately encamped hard by them, wholly intent on preventing them from receiving any Supplies of Victuals, since he saw Hopes at present of obtaining the Victory without Blood or Danger. He therefore applied himself to the cutting of a Multitude of Trenches about the Place, and to make himself Master of the neighbouring Towns, and left no Work undone that Diligence could effect. But his Design became every Day more and more feasible from the Difficulties of the *French* ; for the *German* Infantry having received but Two Months Pay since they left their own Contry, and all the

the Terms at which they vainly expected ^{A. D.} their Money being expired, deserted in a ^{1496.} Body to *Ferdinando*, which giving him farther Means of distressing the Enemy, and of extending his Quarters, rendered it more difficult to convey Provisions from *Venosa* and the neighbouring Towns to *Atella*; nor in that Place were there Provisions enough to support the *French* many Days, for there was but a small Quantity of Corn, and the *Aragonians* having destroyed a Mill that was on the River which ran near the Walls, they suffered also for want of Meal; and the present Inconveniencies were not alleviated by Hopes of the Future, for no Sign of Relief appeared from any Quarter. But the Misfortune that happened in *Calabria* reduced their Affairs to the utmost Degree of Despair. For *Gonsalvo*, taking Advantage of the long Sickness of *Aubigni*, which occasioned many of his Soldiers to repair to the Army of *Monpensier*, made himself Master of several Towns in that Province, and at last, with the *Spaniards* and a good Number of Soldiers raised in that Country, encamped at *Castrovillare*. Here receiving

A. D. 1496. *ceiving Intelligence that Count Meletto and Alberigo da San Severino, and many other Barons, with a good Body of Troops almost equal to his own, were encamped at Laino, that their Numbers increased continually, and that they designed, as soon as they had a Superiority, to come and attack him, he resolved to prevent them in Hopes of finding them unprepared, as imagining themselves secured by the Situation of their Camp. For the Castle of Laino is seated on the River Sapri, which divides Calabria from the Principato, and the Town lies on the other Side of the River, commanded by the Castle, which renders it a secure Quarter against any Attack by the High Road: And between Laino and Castrovillare lies Murano, and some other Towns belonging to the Prince of Bisignano, and in Possession of the French. But Gonzalvo, taking his Measures different to their Expectation, decamped with all his Forces from Castrovillare a little before Night, and leaving the direct Road took the broad Way, tho' much the longer and more difficult, for he was obliged to pass some Mountains, and arriving at the River,*

ordered

*French at
Laino.*

*Gonzalvo's
politic
March.*

ordered his Foot to take their Way to the Bridge which is between the Castle and the Town, and on account of the same Security as abovementioned was but negligently guarded, while he himself with the Horse waded the River Two Miles higher, and arrived before Day at the Town, where, finding the Enemies without Centinels or Guards, he broke them in a Moment, and took Eleven Barons, and almost all the Soldiers Prisoners, those who fled towards the Castle fell in with the Foot, who had already seized on the Pass of the Bridge. In consequence of this worthy Service, which was the first Victory obtained by *Gonsalvo* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, he recovered some other Towns in *Calabria*, and then marched with Six Thousand Men to join the Camp before *Atella*, at which, a few Days before, were arrived an Hundred Men at Arms belonging to the Duke of *Candia*, who was in the Pay of the Confederates, he himself with the rest of his Regiment remaining in the Territory of *Rome*.

A. D.
1496.

He takes
Laino by
Surprize.

A. D.

1496.

Atella be-
sieged.

THE Arrival of *Gonsalvo* gave *Ferdinando* an Opportunity of blocking up *Atella* more closely: Three Parts of the Town were wholly shut up, on one Quarter by the *Aragonians*, on another by the *Venetians*, and on a Third by the *Spaniards*; so that all Provisions were in a manner stopt, especially as the *Venetian* Stradiotti scoured the Country, and took several Convoys, with the *French* that guarded them, coming from *Venosa*. Nor had the Besieged any Opportunity to go in Quest of Forage, except in the Night with large Escorts; and Means were found to prevent that also. *Pagolo Vitelli* ventured at Noon-day to go out with One Hundred Men at Arms, but several of them were cut off by an Ambush laid by the Marquis of *Mantoua*. Thus deprived of all Conveniencies the Besieged were at last reduced to such Straits that they could no longer, even with Escorts, water their Horses at the River, and wanted the necessary Water for themselves. Oppressed therefore and overcome with so many Evils, and destitute of all Hopes, after enduring a Siege of

of Two and Thirty Days they were forced to surrender. For this Purpose having obtained proper Passes, they sent out *Persi*, *Bartolomeo d'Alviano*, and a *Swiss* Officer to treat with *Ferdinando*, who agreed with them on the following Terms: That there should be a Truce for Thirty Days, during which Time none of the Besieged should go out of *Atella*, but be daily supplied by the *Aragonians* with necessary Provisions: That *Monpensier* should have Liberty to give Notice to the King of *France* of the Capitulation. and, if no Succours arrived in Thirty Days, give up *Atella*, with all the Places under his Command in the Kingdom of *Naples*, with all the Artillery that was within them: That his Men should be safe in their Persons and Effects, with the Liberty for every one to go from thence into *France*, either by Land or by Sea; and for the *Orsini* and the other *Italian* Soldiers with their Attendants to retire where they pleased out of the Kingdom: And that the Barons and others who had followed the Party of the King of *France*, if within fifteen Days they submitted to *Ferdinando*, should be free from all Punishment,

A. D. 1496. ment, and restored to the Possession of all that they enjoyed at the Beginning of the War.

THE Term being expired *Monpensier* with all the *French*, and many of the *Swiss*, and with the *Orsini*, were conducted to *Castel di Stabbia*, by the Sea side. Here a Dispute arose whether *Monpensier*, as the King's Lieutenant General, and superior to all others, was obliged, as *Ferdinando* insisted, to cause Restitution to be made of every Place that was held by Commission from the King of *France* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. For *Monpensier* pretended that he was bound to no more than was in his Power to restore, and that his Authority did not extend so far as to command the Officers and Governors who were in *Calabria*, the *Abruzzi*, in *Gaeta*, and in many other Towns and Fortresses, and had received them in Trust from the King, and not from him. After several Days Debate *Ferdinando* pretending that he would give them Leave to depart, they were conducted to *Baja*, where, under Colour that the Vessels were not as yet

got in Readiness for their Embarkation, A. D.
1496. they were so long detained that, being dispersed between *Baja* and *Pozzuolo*, on account of the bad Air and many other Inconveniencies, they began to grow sickly; so that *Monpensier* died, and of the Remainder of his Troops, which exceeded Five Thousand Men, scarce Five Hundred got back safe into *France* *. *Virginio* and *Pagolo Orsini*, at the Request of the Pope, who was now resolved to deprive that Family of their States, were confined in *Castel dell' Uovo*, and their Troops, commanded by *Giangiordano* Son of *Virginio*, and *Alviano*, were, by the Pope's Orders, disarmed by the Duke of *Urbino* in the *Abruzzi*. And *Giordano* and *Alviano*, who, by Orders from *Ferdinando*, had left their Troops on the Road, and returned to *Naples*, were committed to Prison. But *Alviano*, either by his own Industry, or by secret Orders from *Ferdinando*, who had a great Love for him, found Means to escape.

* *Giovio* writes, that *Monpensier* was invited by the Marquis of *Mantoua* to leave that Air, and reside with him; but that he refused it, saying he would not abandon his Army. The same Writer says, that the bad Air carried off a great many *Aragonians* as well as *French*.

A. D.

1496.

AFTER the Victory of *Atella*, *Ferdinando* dividing his Army into several Bodies for recovering the Remainder of his Kingdom, sent *Don Fedrigo* and *Prospero Colonna* to besiege *Gaeta*, and ordered *Fabritio Colonna* to the *Abruzzi*, where *Aquila* had already returned to his Obedience. *Fabritio* took by Storm the Castle of *San Severino*, and having cut off the Heads of the Governor and his Son for a Terror to others he laid Siege to *Salerno*. Here the Prince of *Bisignano* coming to a Parley with him made an Agreement for himself, the Prince of *Salerno*, Count *Capuccio*, and some other Barons on Condition of enjoying their States, with Liberty to *Ferdinando*, for his own Security, to keep Garrisons in their Castles for a certain Term; after which Agreement they went to *Naples*. Nor was there any great Resistance made in the *Abruzzi*; for *Gratiano di Guerra*, who was in that Province with Eight Hundred Horse, being no longer in a Condition to defend himself, retired to *Gaeta*. *Gonsalvo* returned into *Calabria*, the greatest Part of which was
in

in the Hands of the *French*: Here *Aubigni* made some Resistance, but at last retired to *Groppoli*, and having lost *Manfredonia* and *Cosenza*, which last had been plundered before by the *French*, destitute of all Hope he agreed to evacuate all *Calabria*, and had Liberty to return into *France* by Land. Certain it is, that many of these Losses were occasioned by the Negligence and ill Conduct of the *French*. *Manfredonia* was well fortified, and being seated in a plentiful Country might have been easily furnished with Provisions; and the King had left *Gabriello di Montefalcone* for Governor, because he had a high Opinion of his Valour; yet he was obliged to deliver up this important City, after a few Days Siege, for want of Provisions. Other Places, that could have defended themselves, surrendered, either out of Cowardice, or for Want of Resolution of Mind sufficient to sustain the Inconveniencies of a Siege. Some of the Governors found their Castles very well victualled, but sold the Provisions; and therefore were forced to capitulate at the first Appearance of the Enemy. This Behaviour rendered the

A. D.
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A. D.

1496.

French despicable in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and made them entirely lose the Reputation they had formerly gained, when the Person who was left Governor of *Castel del Nuovo* by *Giovanni d'Anjou* held it out many Years after the Victory of *Ferdinando*; nor did he surrender at last till the Garrison was almost famished.

THUS the whole Kingdom being recovered except *Taranto*, *Gaeta*, and some Towns held by *Carlo Sanguine*, and *Monte di Sant' Angelo*, from whence Don *Julian de Lorraine* infested the circumjacent Territories highly to his Reputation, *Ferdinando* in the Height of his Glory, and in great Hopes of equalling the Grandeur of his Ancestors, having made a Progress to *Somma*, a Village seated at the Foot of Mount *Vesuvius*, where the Queen his Consort resided, either from his late Fatigues, or from some new Disorder, fell so violently ill that he was carried, with little Hopes of Recovery, to *Naples*, where he died in a few Days, and within a Year after the

the Decease of his Father *Alfonso* *, greatly A. D.
1496. regretted on account of his late Victory, and for his Magnanimity, and many other royal Virtues, which shone with an uncommon Splendor, and rendered his Name illustrious, not only in his own Kingdom, but through all *Italy*, where he was in the highest Reputation for his Valour. Dying without Issue, he was succeeded by his Uncle Don *Federigo*, the Kingdom of *Naples* having now seen Five Kings in the Space of three Years †.

As soon as *Federigo* had Notice of his Nephew's Death, he left the Siege of *Gaeta* and went to *Naples*, where the old Queen, his Mother-in-Law, put him in Possession of *Castel Nuovo*, contrary to the Expectation of many, who thought she would keep it at the Disposition of her Brother *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*. *Federigo* came to the Crown, not only with the Acclamations of the People of *Naples*,
but

* He was taken with a Flux, occasioned by the immoderate Embraces of his new Consort *Giovanna*, Daughter to his Grandfather King *Ferdinando*, and died October 6, 1496, aged 29 Years. *Giovio*.

† The Five Kings were the Four *Aragonians* and *Charles VIII*.

A. D. 1496. but also of the Princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignano*, and Count *Capuccio*, who were the first that proclaimed him, and the foremost that received him at his Landing, and saluted him King; being much better satisfied with him than with the deceased King for the Mildness of his Temper, and because there had been no small Suspicion that *Ferdinando* designed, as soon as he should have better settled his Affairs, to prosecute with the utmost Rigour all those who had in any Manner shewn their Inclinations to the *French*: Wherefore, *Federigo*, to reconcile them entirely to himself, restored to every one of them their Fortresses, for which he was highly commended.

BUT these Disorders and Miscarriages, attended with so much Loss and Disgrace, had no Effect in quickening the Spirits and Preparations of the King of *France*, who, not knowing how to debar himself of his Pleasures, delayed Four Months his Return to *Lions*. And tho', during that Time, he had often repeated his Orders

ders to his Officers, who had remained at *Lions*, to hasten forward the Preparations both by Land and Sea, and the Duke of *Orleans* had long waited in Readiness to set out, yet the Men at Arms having their Payments retarded by the usual Artifices of the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, made but slow Marches towards *Italy*: And the Fleet that was to assemble at *Marseilles* took up so much Time in equipping, that the Allies had Leisure to send first to *Villafranca*, a very capacious Harbour, near *Nizza*, and afterwards to the very Mouth of the Port of *Marseilles*, a Fleet fitted out at the common Expence at *Genoa*, in order to prevent the *French* from putting to Sea for the Kingdom of *Naples*. And besides this Slowness, occasioned principally by the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, some more secret Cause was suspected, which with much Art and Industry was nourished in the King's Breast by those who, for various Reasons, endeavoured to divert his Thoughts from the Affairs of *Italy*. For it was doubted that he was of himself disposed to be jealous of the Greatness of the

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the Duke of *Orleans*, who by the Victory would acquire to himself the Dutchy of *Milan*: And he was induced to believe that it was not safe for him to leave *France* before he had made some Composition with the Sovereigns of *Spain*, who, to testify their Desire of a Reconciliation, had sent Ambassadors to him, to propose a Truce, and other Means of an Agreement. Many also advised him to wait the approaching Delivery of the Queen, since it was not suitable to his Prudence, nor to the Love which he ought to bear to his People, to expose his own Person to so many Dangers before he had a Son to succeed him in his ample Dominions; a Reason which became more forcible by the Queen's Delivery, for the Child, a Boy, died in a few Days. Thus, partly by the Negligence and Weakness of the King, and partly by the Difficulties artfully interposed by others, the Provisions were so long delayed, as to occasion the Destruction of the Army, with the total Loss of the Kingdom of *Naples*: And the same Fate would have attended his *Italian* Allies, had they not trusted to themselves,

and

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and constantly stood in Defence of their own Properties.

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IT was mentioned above, that, from an Apprehension of the *French* Preparations, though more for the Sake of *Lodovico Sforza* than of the *Venetians*, a Treaty was begun for causing *Maximilian* to pass into *Italy*. And now, while the same Fear continued, it was agreed that the *Venetians* and *Lodovico* should grant him a monthly Subsidy of Twenty Thousand Ducats for Three Months, to enable him to bring with him a certain Number of Horse and Foot. As soon as this Convention was made *Lodovico* set out, in Company with the Ambassadors of the Allies, for *Manzo*, a Place beyond the *Alps*, on the Borders of *Germany*, where he had appointed an Interview with *Maximilian*. After a long Conference *Lodovico* retired the same Day on this Side the *Alps* to *Bormi*, a Town in the Dutchy of *Milan*; and *Cæsar* the next Day, under Pretence of hunting, passed over to the same Place, where, in a Debate of Two Days, the Time and Manner of his Passage into *Italy* were settled, after which

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}

which he returned into Germany, to hasten the Execution of what had been resolved. But, in the mean time, the Noise of the French Preparations abating, so as to seem to render his Passage unnecessary on that Account, Lodovico designed to serve himself for his Ambition of what he had before procured for his own Security. Continuing therefore to solicit the Passage, and the Venetians not caring to concur in promising the Emperor Thirty Thousand Ducats, which he demanded over and above the Sixty Thousand that had been promised him, he obliged himself to answer that Demand, in consequence of which Maximilian passed into Italy a little before the Death of Ferdinando. When he was near Milan, and heard the News of that Prince's Decease, he had some Thoughts of using his Interest that the Kingdom of Naples might be transferred to Giovanni, the only Son of the King of Spain, and his Son-in-law. But Lodovico having demonstrated to him that, as such a Step must be disagreeable to all Italy, it would disunite the Confederates, and consequently favour the Designs of the King of France,

Maxi-
milian
comes in-
to Italy.

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France, he not only laid aside that Project, A. D. 1496.
but wrote Letters in favour of *Federigo's* }
Succession.

HE was attended in his Passage into *Italy* by a very small Number of Troops *, but it was reported that he would soon be followed by a larger Body, sufficient to compleat the Number he had engaged to bring with him. He had took up his Quarters at *Vigevano*, where in a Council held in his Presence, at which assisted *Lodovico*, the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, sent by the Pope as his Legate to *Cæsar*, and the other Ambassadors of the Allies, it was proposed to march into *Piedmont*, in order to make themselves Masters of *Asti*, and to separate from the *French* Interest the Duke of *Savoy* and the Marquis of *Monferrato*, as Members dependant on the Empire, whom *Cæsar* took Care to get summoned in order to meet and confer with him in some Town of *Piedmont*. But his Forces being contemptible, and the Effects no Way

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* His Attendance was so small, that he was ashamed of it; and to avoid the Crowds that flocked about him, he avoided going into *Como* and *Milan*.

A. D. 1496. correspondent to the Authority of the imperial Name, neither of these Princes consented to wait upon him; and as to the Enterprize on *Asti*, no Success could be expected. He also cited to appear before him the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, under the Title of Feudatory of the Empire, was in Possession of the Cities of *Modena* and *Reggio*, offering him for the Security of his Person the Word and Faith of *Lodovico* his Son-in-law: But he refused to come to him, alledging in Excuse that it suited his Honour to reject his Request, because he still kept deposited in his Hands the *Castelletto* of *Genoa*.

LODOVICO therefore stimulated by his old Ambition, and by Displeasure that *Pisa*, so much coveted by himself, should fall under the Power of the *Venetians*, with so much Danger to all *Italy*, and being desirous to put a Stop to that Proceeding, advised *Cæsar* to take a Progress to that City, persuading himself by most fallacious Reasonings that the *Florentines*, finding themselves too weak to resist both him and the Forces of the Confederates, would be necessitated.

cessitated to renounce their Alliance with *France*, and would not know how to make *Cæsar* the Arbitrator for terminating their Differences with the *Pisans*, if not by an Agreement, at least in a Way of Justice; and that *Pisa* and all its Territory should be put into *Cæsar's* Hands: To which Measure he was in Hopes; by his Authority, to induce the *Pisans* to give their Consent; and that the *Venetians* would not, especially when all the other Allies concurred in their Approbation, make Objections to a Conclusion so beneficial to the Public, and altogether honourable in its own Nature. For *Pisa*, being in antient Times a Town of the Empire, the Cognizance of the Rights of those who pretended to it appeared to belong to none but *Cæsar*; and *Pisa* being deposited in *Cæsar's* Hands, *Lodovico* hoped by Money; and by the Authority he had with him easily to obtain a Grant of the Premises to himself. This Point being proposed in Council, under a Colour of improving the Coming of *Cæsar*, since the Fear of a *French* War had, for the present, ceased, for inducing the *Florentines* to join with

A. D. 1496. the Confederates against the King of *France*, pleased that Prince, who was very sorry that his Coming into *Italy* should produce no Effect at all : And therefore by his vast and boundless Projects, and no less by his Irregularities and immense Prodigality, being always in Want of Money, he was in Hopes that *Pisa* would prove an Instrument for squeezing very large Sums from the *Florentines*, or from some others. The Proposition was approved by all the Confederates as grealy conducive to the Security of *Italy*, the *Venetian* Ambassador not contradicting it : For that Senate, tho' well apprised of the Tendency of *Lodovico's* Projects, were confident of easily frustrating them, and were in Hopes that the Coming of *Cæsar* would facilitate to the *Pisans* the Acquisition of *Livorno*, which united to *Pisa* would manifestly deprive the *Florentines* of all Hopes of ever recovering that City.

THE Allies had often sollicitd the *Florentines* to join with them ; and when the ill Consequences of the Passage of the *French* were most apprehended, they had
given

given them Hopes of obliging themselves to operate in such a Manner that *Pisa* should return under their Dominion. But the *Florentines* suspecting the covetous Ambition of the *Venetians* and *Lodovico*, and unwilling, out of Levity, to relinquish their Attachment to *France*, were never much inclined to hearken to those Offers. They were restrained also by the Hopes of recovering by the Passage of the King the Towns of *Pietra Santa* and *Sarzana*, which they could not expect to obtain of the Confederates; and much more because, in forming their Judgment more from their own Merits, and from what they had suffered for the King, than from his Nature and Manners, they persuaded themselves that, in consequence of his Success, they should be put in Possession, not only of *Pisa*, but of almost all the rest of *Tuscany*. This Notion was cherished in them by the Speeches of *Girolamo Savonarola*, who was continually predicting abundant Felicity, and Enlargement of Empire, which were predestinated to happen after a World of Vexations to be endured by that Republic, and most terrible Calami-

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ties which would befall the Court of *Rome*, and all the other *Italian* Potentates. Many judicious Persons despised both the Preacher and his Predictions; yet the Bulk of the People generally paid a great Regard to all he said, and amongst them not a few of the most considerable Citizens, some out of Simplicity, some out of Ambition, and others out of Fear. Wherefore, the *Florentines* being disposed to continue in Friendship with the King of *France*, it was no Wonder that the Allies should be so desirous to compel them by Force into Measures to which their Wills were utterly averse; especially as it did not seem to be attended with many Difficulties. For the *Florentines* were obnoxious to their Neighbours, and could have no Hopes of any present Assistance from the King of *France*; who would hardly give himself any Concern for their Affairs, when, with so much Indolence, he had abandoned his own natural Subjects; and the vast Expences with the Diminution of the public Revenue, which they had supported these Three Years, had so exhausted them, that

that it was not believed they could bear
to be long distressed.

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FOR this very Year the *Florentines* had continually prosecuted the War against the *Pisans* with various Events, remarkable more for the Skilfulness in War, demonstrated in a Multitude of military Operations on both Sides, and for the Obstinacy with which Affairs were managed, than for the Greatness of the Armies, or the Largeness of the Places about which they fought, being only some little Towns of no Note, and in themselves of small Consequence. Thus, a little after the Citadel had been resigned to the *Pisans*, and before the Arrival of the *Venetian* Auxiliaries at *Pisa*, the *Florentine* Army, after taking the little Town of *Buti*, having laid Siege to *Calci*, and, before they had taken it, to secure their Convoys of Provisions, erected a Redoubt on *Monte della Dolorosa*, the Garrison, through their Negligence were surpris'd by the *Pisans*. And not long after *Francesco Secco*, with a good Number of Horse, being quartered in *Buti* for securing the Convoys of Provi-

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sions to *Ercole Bentivoglio*, who lay before the little Fortrefs of Mount *Verrucola*, was surpris'd by a Body of Foot that sallied out of *Pisa*, and being in a difficult Place for Horse to act, lost a good Number of them. These Successes seem'd to put the Affairs of the *Pisans* in a better Situation, and there were Hopes of further Advantages, for the Succours from *Venice* began now to arrive. *Ercole Bentivoglio*, who had his Quarters in the little Town of *Bientina*, on Advice that *Gianpagolo Manfredone*, an Officer of the *Venetians*, was, with the first Column of their Forces, arriv'd at *Vico Pisano*, two Miles from *Bientina*, feigning Fear, and sometimes drawing out into the Field, and again, as soon as he discovered the *Venetians*, retiring into *Bientina*, after he saw them full of Boldness and Heedlessness, drew them, one Day, with great Craft, into an Ambush, where they were totally defeated, most Part of their Horse and Foot killed, and the rest pursu'd to the Walls of *Vico Pisano*. But the Joy of this Victory was alay'd by the Loss of *Francesco Secco*, who had join'd *Ercole* that Morning, and in the

Retreat was killed by a Musket Shot*. *A. D.*

After this the other Columns of the *Ve-* ^{1496.}

netians, among whom were Eight Hundred Stradiotti, arrived under the Command of the Proveditor *Giustiniano Morosini*. The *Pisans* being now much superior, *Ercole*, who was very well acquainted with the Country, not chusing to hazard an Engagement, nor willing to quit the Field, pitched his Camp in a very strong Post between the Castle of *Pontadera* and the River *Era*, which, by the Commo- diousness of its Situation, put him in a Condition of restraining, in a great measure, the Insults of the Enemy, who, during the rest of the Campaign, only took the little Town of *Buti*, which surrendered at Discretion, and employed themselves in plundering all the Country with their Stradiotti, Three Hundred of whom, that had made an Incurſion into the *Valdera*, were routed by some Troops that *Ercole* sent after them.

* Both *Giovio* and *Bembo* ascribe the Glory of this Action to *Francesco Secco*, without so much as mentioning *Bentivoglio*.

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THE *Florentines* were, at the same Time, infested by the *Senese*, who taking an Opportunity from their Distresses in the *Pisan*, and stimulated by the Allies, sent the Lord of *Piombino* and *Giovanni Savelli*, to besiege the Fort at the Bridge of *Valiano*. But on Advice that *Rinuccio da Marciano* with some Troops was coming to relieve the Place, the Besiegers retired with Precipitation, leaving behind them Part of their Artillery. Wherefore the *Florentines* having secured their Country on that Side, ordered *Rinuccio* with his Forces into the Territory of *Pisa*, so that the Armies being in a Manner equal, the War was confined among the little Towns on the Hills, whose Inhabitants being well affected to the *Pisans*, the Operations proceeded rather to the Disadvantage of the *Florentines*. It happened also that the *Pisans* entering by Treachery the little Town of *Ponte Sacco*, surprised a Regiment of Men at Arms, and took *Lodovico da Marciano* Prisoner, tho' out of Apprehensions from the *Florentines* that lay near, they immediately abandoned the Place, and the better to render themselves

themselves Masters of the Hills, which A. D.
1496. were of great Importance on account of the Provisions brought from thence to *Pisa*, and because they cut off the Communication of the *Florentines* with *Livorno*, they fortified most of the little Towns, one of which, *Sojano*, became memorable for an extraordinary Accident: For the *Florentines* having decamped and marched to that Place with a Resolution of taking it the same Day, and for that End spoiled all the Passes of the River *Cassina*, and posted Men at Arms drawn up in Order on the Bank, for preventing all Relief, whilst *Pietro Capponi*, the *Florentine* Commissary, was attentive in planting the Artillery, he received a Musket Shot thro' the Head from the Town, which killed him on the Spot. An End, considering the Obscureness of the Place, and the small Importance of the Enterprize, not suitable to his Merit. On this Occasion the Siege was raised without any farther Attempt. At this Time the *Florentines* were also obliged to send Troops into the *Lusigiana* to relieve the Fort of the *Verrucola*,
attacked

A. D. 1496. attacked by the Marquisses of *Malaspina**, with the Assistance of the *Genoese*, who were easily put to Flight.

THE Forces of the *Pisans* had for some Months past been very considerable, for besides the Men of the Town and its Territory, who by long Exercise were become warlike, the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan* had supplied them with great Numbers both of Horse and Foot, but much the greater Part was sent by the *Venetians*. The Troops of the Duke began to diminish for want of being duly supplied, for which Reason the *Venetians* sent a Reinforcement of One Hundred Men at Arms, and Six light Gallies, laden with Provisions, not sparing any Expence necessary for the Security of the City of *Pisa*, and to engross the Affections of the Inhabitants, who grew every Day less hearty

† The Marquisses of *Malaspina* had of long time been Sovereigns of great part of the *Lunigiana*. *Martio L. Turbone*, of a noble *Roman* Family, was the first that settled there; from *Martii* their Name was changed to *Malaspina*, for Reasons given in the History of *Milan*, and more particularly by *Paracelsi*.

heartly in their Devotion to the Duke of *Milan*, abominating him for his niggardly Temper, which would not suffer him to be at any Loss in making Provisions for them, as also for his Falseness and Inconstancy : For sometimes he appeared zealous in their Affairs, at other times proceeded but coldly; whence calling in Question his Intentions they imputed it to him that *Giovanni Bentivoglio* had not taken the Field, and damaged the *Florentines*, as he was commissioned by the Confederates, and the rather because it was known that he had failed him in a great Part of the Payments, either through Avarice, or because he was pleased with the Distresses but not with the total Oppression of the *Florentines*; by which manner of Proceeding he had of himself thrown the Affairs of the *Pisans* on a Footing contrary to his own Intentions, and the End for which a Resolution, of which he was himself the Author, was taken in the Council of the Allies that *Cæsar* should go to *Pisa*.

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It being resolved, then, that *Cæsar* should visit *Pisa*, he sent two Ambassadors to *Florence*, to signify that, in order to execute in a powerful Manner the Enterprize, which he had formed in his Mind against the Infidels, he had thought it necessary to pass into *Italy* for pacifying and securing the Peace of that Country; for which Reason he required of them to declare together with the other Confederates for the Defence of *Italy*, or, if they were averse to such a Step, to manifest at least their Intentions: That he designed for the Reason aforesaid, and because it was an Affair that concerned the Imperial Authority, to take Cognizance of the Differences between them and the *Pisans*; and therefore desired that they would suspend Hostilities till he had fully heard the Reasons on all Sides, which he was certain the *Pisans*, to whom he had sent the like Orders, would take Care to do; assuring them, in very civil Terms, that he was ready to administer impartial Justice. To his Message, after commending, in respectful Terms, the Resolution of *Cæsar*, and testifying a very great

great Confidence in his Goodness, it was answered that the *Florentines* would soon send and make known their Intentions in a particular Manner by a special Embassy.

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BUT in the mean Time the *Venetians*, to leave no Opportunity for the Emperor or the Duke of *Milan* to seize on *Pisa*, sent thither, with the Consent of the *Pisans*, their General *Annibale Bentivoglio*, with a Reinforcement of One Hundred Men at Arms, and soon after more Stradiotti with One Thousand Foot; signifying to the Duke that their Republic being a Lover of free Cities was willing to assist the *Pisans* in the Recovery of their Territory. By the Assistance of these Troops the *Pisans* proceeded in the Recovery of almost all the little Towns on the Hills. By these Benefits of the *Venetians*, and by their Readiness to answer their Demands, which were manifold, sometimes of Troops, sometimes of Money, and sometimes of Provisions and Ammunition, the Will of the *Pisans* grew so conformable to that of the *Venetians*, as to transfer all the

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the Love and Confidence which they had placed on the Duke of *Milan* to the *Venetian* Senate, whom they heartily wished to continue to be their Defenders. They solicited, however, the Coming of *Cæsar*, in Hopes that with the Forces which were in *Pisa*, united to those that he would bring with him, they might easily get Possession of *Livorno*. On the other Side the *Florentines*, who, besides other Difficulties, at that Time laboured under a very great Dearth, stood in great Fear, seeing themselves obliged to stand alone against the Power of so many Princes. For there was no Potentate in *Italy* that would assist them, and they had been certified by Letters from their Ambassadors in *France*, that from that King, with whom they had made the most earnest Instances to be succoured in so great a Danger, at least with a Sum of Money, no Relief was to be expected. Only *Piero de' Medici* gave them no further Concern, for the Allies had thought fit not to make use of his Name or Interest in this Undertaking, having found by Experience that the Fear of his Restoration had disposed the

the

the *Florentines* to unite the more firmly for
the Preservation of their Liberties.

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LODOVICO all this while, under Pre-
tence of being zealous for their Safety,
and uneasy at the Grandeur of the *Ve-*
netians, was continually exhorting them
in pressing Words to refer themselves to
Cæsar, setting before them a Multitude of
Terrors and Dangers, and proposing it as
the only Expedient for wresting *Pisa* out
of the Hands of the *Venetians*, which
would immediately be followed by their
reinstating themselves in the Dominion of
that City, as a Step very necessary for the
Quiet of *Italy*, and on that Account de-
sired by the King of *Spain*, and by all the
rest of the Confederates. But the *Floren-*
tines, neither moved with these vain and
insidious Allurements, nor terrified with
so many Difficulties and Dangers, resolved
to make no Declaration with *Cæsar*, nor
refer their Rights to his Arbitration, unless
they were first restored to the Possession of
Pisa. For they put no Confidence in his
Will, nor in his Authority, every one
knowing that he had no Forces nor Money
of

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of his own, but proceeded by the Directions of the Duke of *Milan*; nor did it appear that the *Venetians* were disposed, or under a Necessity to abandon *Pisa*. Wherefore they cheerfully applied themselves to fortify and provide, as well as they could, *Livorno*, and to assemble all their Troops in the Territory of *Pisa*. To shew, how-

The Flo-
rentines
send Am-
bassadors
to Maxi-
milian.

ever, that they were not averse to an Agreement, and to use their Endeavours for mitigating the Spirit of *Cæsar*, they sent Ambassadors to him, who was already arrived at *Genoa*, with an Answer to what his Ambassadors had signified to them at *Florence*. Their Instructions were to persuade him that it was not necessary for them to proceed to any Declaration, since he might promise himself from the Republic of *Florence*, out of the Veneration which they had for his Name, all that he could desire; to represent to him that nothing was more suitable to his pious Intentions of restoring Peace to *Italy* than the immediate Restitution of *Pisa* to the *Florentines*; because from that Root sprung all those Resolutions of theirs which had occasioned so much Uneasiness to himself
and

and to his Allies, and because *Pisa* was A. D. 1496. the Motive that had induced some others to aspire to the Empire of *Italy*, and for that End taken Care that it should be kept continually embroiled; by which Words, though not in express Terms, were signified the *Venetians*: That it was unbecoming his Justice that those who had been despoiled by Violence should be bound, contrary to the Disposition of the Imperial Laws, to compromise for their Rights before they were reinstated in their Possessions: Concluding, that, on obtaining of his Majesty this Preliminary, the *Florentine* Republic, having no other Cause to desire any thing more than Peace with every one, would make all those Declarations which he should think proper, and, in full Assurance of his Justice, would intrust him with the Cognisance of their Rights.

THIS Answer not satisfying *Cæsar*, who was desirous that before all Things they should enter into the League, on their receiving of him his Word that they should be reinstated in the Possession of *Pisa* within a convenient Term, after many Debates

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they had no other Reply from him than what he gave them when he was just getting on board of a Ship in the Mole of *Genoa*, when he turned to them, and said, They might know his Mind from the Pope's Legate in that City. The Legate referred them to *Lodovico*, who had attended the Emperor to *Tortona*, and was returned to *Milan*, whither the Ambassadors repaired. But after they had demanded an Audience, they received an Express from *Florence*, where the Progress of their Embassy was already known, with Orders to return, without soliciting any other Answer. Wherefore when they were admitted, at the Time appointed, into *Lodovico's* Presence, instead of demanding an Answer, they signified to him, that being on their Return to *Florence* they had been willing to lengthen the Journey, because they thought it their Duty not to leave his Dominions without paying him in Person that Respect which was due to the Friendship that subsisted between his Highness and their Republic. The Duke, on a Supposition that they were come to receive *Cæsar's* Answer, in order to make a
Shew,

Shew, as he did on all Occasions, of his ^{A. D. 1496.} Eloquence and political Artifices, and to please himself with the Calamities of others, had summoned all the Ambassadors of the Allies, and his whole Council to be present at this Meeting. But being amazed and confounded at this Compliment of the Ambassadors, and not able to dissemble his Displeasure, he demanded of them, ‘What Answer they had received from *Cæsar*?’ They replied, ‘That, according to the Laws of their Republic, they were not allowed to discourse on the Subject of their Embassy to any other Prince but to him to whom they were delegated.’ *Lodovico*, in great Agitation, said, ‘If I should give you his Answer, which you know he has intrusted me with, would you not be willing to hear it?’ They replied, ‘That to hear was not prohibited, nor could they hinder any body from speaking.’ ‘Then, says the Duke, I am willing to tell it you ; but I cannot, unless you let me know what you said to him.’ They answered, ‘That was not allowed them for the same Reasons they had before given ; and besides, it would be su-

A. D. 1496. perfluous, because *Cæſar* could not employ any one to give an Answer in his Name, without communicating to the ſame Perſon what had been demanded.' *Lodovico* not knowing how to diſſemble his Anger, either in Words or Geſtures, diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors and all that were aſſembled, and became himſelf the Subject of thoſe Sneers he intended to put on the *Flerentine* Miniſters.

IN the mean Time *Cæſar* ſailed from the Port of *Genoa* with Six Gallies, which the *Venetians* had in the *Piſan* Sea, and with a great Number of *Genoeſe* Veſſels well provided with Artillery, but not with Soldiers, having only on board One Thouſand *German* Foot. He went on Shore at the Port of *Spetie*, and from thence marched by Land to *Piſa*, where he aſſembled Five Hundred Horſe, and One Thouſand *German* Foot, that had marched thither by Land. With theſe Troops, and thoſe of the Duke of *Milan*, and part of the *Venetians*, he reſolved to lay Siege to *Livorno*, with Deſign to attack it both by Sea and Land. The other Part of the *Venetian*

netian Troops was ordered to post themselves at the Bridge of *Sacco*, to prevent the *Florentine* Army, which was not very strong, from molesting *Pisa*, or succouring *Livorno*. For this last Place the Republic was in no sort of Concern, since it was extremely well provided with Men and Artillery, and they daily expected Relief from *Provence*: For as the *French* Soldierry were at that Time in great Esteem in *Italy*, to give a greater Reputation to their Army, they had, with the King's Leave not long before, enlisted *Monf. d'Albigeois*, one of his Officers, with One Hundred Lances, and One Thousand *Swiss* and *Gascon* Foot; who were to be transported to *Livorno* on board a Fleet of Vessels they had hired, and loaded with Wheat, of which there was a great Scarcity in all the *Florentine* Dominions. This Resolution was taken by the *Florentines* with other Thoughts, and for other Purposes than to defend themselves against *Cæsar*; and tho' it met with many Difficulties in the Execution, for *Albigeois* with his Regiment, when they were brought to the Seaside refused to go on board, and no more

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than Six Hundred Foot embarked, yet such was the Favour of Fortune that a greater or more seasonable Succour could not be desired. For on the same Day that a *Pisan* Commissary was sent forward by *Cæsar* with a strong Detachment of Horse and Foot to lay Bridges, and to level the Road for the Army that was to follow, the Fleet from *Provence*, which consisted of Five Ships, and some Galleons, with a large Ship of *Normandy* †, bound for *Gaeta* with a Supply of Men and Provisions, appeared off *Livorno*, with so favourable a Wind, as to meet with no Opposition from *Cæsar's* Squadron, which was forced by bad Weather to extend itself off the *Meloria*, a Rock famous for the final Overthrow and Destruction * of the

† *Vitellozzo* and *Carlo Orsini* were sent with the *Normanda*, entrusted with the *French* Money : This Ship was of Twelve Hundred Tons Burthen, and the others about Four Hundred. *Giuvio* and *Bembo*.

* This Defeat of the *Pisans* is supposed to be that in 1284. at a Place called *Veronica*, Three Miles off *Livorno* or *Leghorn*; in which *Morosini* the Podestate of *Pisa*, and such a Number of Noblemen were taken, that the *Tuscans* used to say, that if any one wanted to see *Pisa*, he must go to *Genoa*. *Giustini*, lib. 3.

the *Pisans* by the *Genoese* in a naval Engagement that happened near it; so that the Fleet entered the Port without any Loss, except of one Galleon, laden with Corn, which was intercepted by the Enemy. This Relief coming so seasonably put great Spirits in the *Livornese*, and mightily confirmed the Minds of the *Florentines*, it appearing to them that the Arrival of Succours just in the Nick of Time, was a Sign that where human Assistance was wanting in their Favour, that Defect was supplied by the divine Aid, as *Savonarola* had often assured in his Preaching to the People at the very Time they were under the greatest Terrors and Apprehensions from the Enemy. But this did not prevent the King of the *Romans* from proceeding with his Army to *Livorno*, whether he sent Five Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot by Land, and went himself on board the Gallies as far as the Mouth of the Lake that lies between *Pisa* and *Livorno*. He appointed Count *Gajazzo*, who had attended him by Orders of the Duke of *Milan*, to make an Attack

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Siege of
Livorno.

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on one Part of the Town, and posted himself at another, tho' he pitched his Camp with much Difficulty on the first Day, on account of the great Annoyance from the Artillery of the Place. As his first Design was to make himself Master of the Port, he caused the Troops to approach, before Day, on the Side of the Fountain, and began to fire, with a Multitude of Cannon, on *Magnano*, which the Besieged had fortified, and had demolished, as soon as they saw the Siege pushed on towards that Part, the *Palazotto*, and the Tower by the Sea-Side, as defenceless, and like to occasion the Loss of the new Tower ; and that the Place might, at the same, Time be battered on the Side towards the Sea, *Maximilian* had caused his Fleet to approach the Port ; for the *French* Ships, after landing the Troops, and unloading Part of the Corn, having finished the Business for which they had been freighted, could not be induced by any Intreaties to stay, but sailed away for *Provence*, and the *Normanda* continued her Course to *Gaeta*. The Attack of *Magnano*, which was made with an Intent, after it should be taken, to assault the

the

the Town also from the Sea, had but little Effect, because it was fortified in such a Manner that the Cannon did it but little Damage, and the Garrison made frequent Sallies. But it was ordained by Destiny that the Hopes of the *Florentines*, which began with the Favour of the Winds, should be brought to Perfection merely by the Benefit of the Winds. For a violent Storm arose, which shattered the Fleet in such a Manner that the *Grimalda*, a *Genoese* Ship, which had carried the Person of *Cæsar*, after a long Struggle with the Winds, overset and sunk over against the new Tower, a Fort of *Livorno*, with all the Men and Artillery on Board, and the same Misfortune happened to two *Venetian* Gallies, at the Point towards *Sanjacopo*, and the other Ships were dispersed into various Places, and suffered so much Damage as to be rendered unserviceable for the present Undertaking; and by Means of this Accident the *Livornese* recovered the Galleon that had fallen into the Hands of the Enemy.

A. D.

1496.

ON this Disaster happening to the Fleet, *Cæsar* returned to *Pisa*, where, after much Consultation, all Hopes of taking *Livorno* being laid aside, he now resolved to raise the Siege, and undertake some other Exploit. *Cæsar* therefore went to *Vico Pisano*, and having ordered a Bridge to be laid over the *Arno*, between *Cascina* and *Vico*; and another over the *Cilecchio*, when it was expected that he would pass these Bridges, he set out on a sudden to return towards *Milan* by Land, having made no other Progress in *Tuscany*, than pillaging, with Four Hundred of his Horse, the obscure little Town of *Bolgheri*, in the Marshes of *Pisa*. He excused his sudden Departure by the Difficulties which continually increased upon him, the *Venetian* Proveditors not satisfying his frequent Demands of new Supplies of Money, nor consenting that the greatest Part of their Troops should march any more out of *Pisa*, from a Mistrust which they had conceived of him; nor had the *Venetians* paid him the full Quota of Seventy Thousand Ducats; whence he made heavy Complasnts

Complaints of their Usage, but highly ^{A. D.} commended the Conduct of the Duke of ^{1496.} *Milan*. At *Pavia* whither he removed

his Quarters, a new Council was held, and tho' he had publicly declared his Resolution of returning to *Germany*, he consented to stay in *Italy* during the Winter, with One Thousand Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, provided he had a monthly Allowance of Twenty-two Thousand *Rhenish* Florins. While he waited for an Answer from the *Venetians* to his Proposal, he went to *Lomellina*, at the Time he was expected at *Milan*, it being his Fate, as afterwards appeared more clearly in his future Progresses, never to enter that City. From *Lomellina*, changing his Mind, he turned to *Cusago*, Six Miles from *Milan*, from whence, on a sudden, without the Knowledge of the Duke and the Ambassadors, he removed to *Como*. Here receiving Intelligence, while he was at Dinner, that the Pope's Legate, to whom he had sent a Message to tell him that he should not follow him, was arrived, he rose from the Table, and went and embarked in so much

Haste,

A. D.

1496.

Haste, that the Legate had hardly Time to speak a few Words to him at the Barge, and received for Answer that he was under a Necessity of going for *Germany*, but that he should soon return. However, after he had been rowed over the Lake to *Bell' Agio**, being informed that the *Venetians* had agreed to what was under Debate at *Pavia*, he gave fresh Hopes of returning to *Milan*. But in a Day or two after, proceeding with his natural Instability, and leaving behind Part of his Horse and Foot, he set out for *Germany*, having, with very little Credit to the Imperial Name and Dignity, displayed his Weakness in *Italy*, which had not for a long Time seen an Emperor in Arms.

By the Departure of *Cæsar Lodovico Sforza*, in Despair of getting *Pisa* for himself, or wresting it out of the Hands of the *Venetians*, without some new Accident, recalled

* *Bell' Agio* is a delicious Promontory on the Lake of *Como*; on the Top there was a famous Stone Castle, which in 1375 was demolished by *Gio. Galeazzo Visconti*, Duke of *Milan*, because it was a Receptacle for Thieves and Assassins. The Family of the *Sfondrati* have now a magnificent Palace on that Spot.

called his Troops; comforting himself ^{A. D.} in some measure under his Mortification ^{1496.} that the *Venetians* would remain alone involved in a War with the *Florentines*, from whence he flattered himself that the Weariness and exhausted Strength of one as well as the other of the contending Parties would in Time present him with some desired Opportunity. The *Florentines*, by the Departure of the Duke's Forces, remaining superior to the Enemy in the Territory of *Pisa*, recovered all the little Towns on the Hills. The *Venetians* therefore being obliged, in order to stop their Progress, to make new Provisions, reinforced their Troops in that Country, so as to make them amount in all to Four Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Hundred light Horse, and above Two Thousand Foot.

IN the mean time almost all the Reliques of the *French* War in the Kingdom of *Naples* dwindled away to nothing. For the City of *Taranto*, with its Forts, oppressed by Famine, surrendered to the *Venetians*, who had blockaded it with their Fleet. This City, after they had kept it
in

A. D. in their Hands many Days, and had now
1496.

incur'd a Suspicion that they intended to appropriate it to themselves, they at last restored to *Federigo* at the earnest Instances of the Pope and the King of *Spain*. On Intelligence arriving at *Gaeta* that the Ship *Normanda*, after an Engagement near *Porto Ercole* with some Ships of *Genoa* which she had met, was, in pursuing her Course, overtaken by a violent Storm, and cast away, the *French* in that City, to which the new King had laid Siege, tho' reported to have Provisions sufficient for some Months, judging that in the End their King would take no more Care to succour them than he had done to succour such Numbers of Nobility, and such a Multitude of Towns as held out for him, capitulated with *Federigo* by means of *Aubigni* (who, on account of some Difficulties arising about the Resignation of the Fortresses in *Calabria* had not as yet left *Naples*) to evacuate the Town and Citadel, and had Liberty to transport themselves by Sea into *Faance* in Safety with all their Effects.

The *Normanda* cast away.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

143

A. D.

1496.

BY this Capitulation the King of *France* found himself eased of all anxious Cares for the Kingdom of *Naples*, and, on the other hand, kindled into Indignation at the Sense of his Loss and Disgrace. For this Reason he resolved to make an Attack on *Genoa*, grounding his Hopes on the Party which *Battistino Fregoso*, formerly Doge, had in that City, and on the Dependants of the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola* in *Savona*, his native Place, and in those Parts of the *Riviera*. Besides this, he imagined that he had a fair Opportunity given him by the Disagreement at that Time of *Gianluigi dal Fiesco* and the *Adorni*, and from the universal Discontent of the *Genoese* with the Duke of *Milan*, because it was by his Procurement that in the Sale of *Pietra Santa* the *Lucchese* had been preferred before them; and because having afterwards promised to make it return into their Hands, and for that End employed, in order to appease their Indignation against him, the Authority of the *Venetians*, he had for many Months been feeding them with nothing but vain Hopes.

King
Charles's
Design on
Genoa.

A. D.

1496.

Lodovico
sendsTroops to
Genoa.

Hopes. The Fear of this Resolution of the King constrained *Lodovico*, who was in a manner fallen off from the *Venetians* on account of the *Pisan* Affair, to renew his Engagements with them, and to send to *Genoa* those *German* Horse and Foot that *Cæsar* had left in *Italy*, for whom, if this Necessity had not happened, no Provision would have been made.

WHILE these Things were in Agitation, the Pope imagining he had a fair Opportunity of seizing on the States of the *Orsini*, since the Heads of that Family were detained at *Naples*, pronounced in Consistory *Virginio* and the others Rebels, for entering, contrary to his Commands, into the Service of the *French*. This done, in the Beginning of the Year 1497 he attacked their Towns, having given Orders that the *Colonnas* in several Places where they bordered on the *Orsini* should do the same*. This Undertaking was pretty much encouraged by Cardinal *Africanio*

* *Alexander* used to call the *Roman* Barons the Pope's Fetters. He laid hold of this Opportunity to humble the *Orsini*, which at the same Time enabled him to enrich his Children. *Giovio*.

canio on account of his old Friendship with the *Colonnas*, and his Aversion to the *Orsini*, and had the Consent of the Duke of *Milan*, but was displeasing to the *Venetians*, who were desirous to conciliate the Affections of that Family. However, as they could no way justify themselves in hindering the Pope from prosecuting his Rights, and it was against their Interest to break with him at such a Juncture, they consented that the Duke of *Urbino*, in the common Pay, should march to join the Troops of the Church, of which the Duke of *Candia* was Captain General, and the Cardinal *da Luna*, of *Pavia*, a Cardinal dependent on *Ascanio*, Legate ; and King *Federigo* sent to the Pope's Assistance *Fabritio Colonna*. This Army, after the surrender of many little Towns, laid Siege to *Trivignano*, which Town, after a stout Defence of some Days, surrendered at Discretion. But during the Siege *Bar-tolomeo Alviano* marched out of *Bracciano*, and routed, within Eight Miles of *Rome*, Four Hundred Horse who were escorting Artillery to the Ecclesiastic Camp : And another Day in an Excursion near the Cross

A. D. of *Montemari* he narrowly missed of taking
1497. the Cardinal of *Valenza*, who had gone
out of *Rome* on Hunting; but he saved
himself by flying into *Trivignano*. The
Army next proceeded to *Lisola*, and hav-
ing battered a Part of the Castle with the
Artillery the Place capitulated. And now
the whole War came at last to be confined
within the Precincts of *Bracciano*, in which
the *Orsini* had placed all their Hopes of
Defence. For the Place, which was
strong before, had been lately strengthened
with new Works, as also its Suburb, at
the Front of which they had erected a
Bastion; and within the Fortrefs was a
competent Garrison under the Command
of *Alviano*, who being as yet a young
Man, though of a fierce Disposition, and
of incredible Quickness, and expert in
military Exercises, gave those Hopes of
himself to which his Actions in future
Times were no ways inferior. Nor was
the Pope negligent in daily augmenting his
Army, which he had newly reinforced
with Eight Hundred *German* Foot of those
who had served in the Kingdom of *Naples*.
Very

THE WARS IN ITALY. 147

Very sharp was the Contest on all Sides ^{A. D.} for many Days together. The Besiegers ^{1497.} having erected Batteries in several Places the Garrison was not wanting to provide ^{Bracciano} against all Assaults, and to repair the besieged. Breaches every where with the greatest Diligence and Alacrity. They were, however, after many Days, constrained to abandon the Suburb, which being taken, the Ecclesiastics gave a fierce Assault to the Town; but, though they had planted their Colours on the Walls, they were forced to retire with great Loss, and *Antonello Savelli* was wounded in the Action. The Besieged behaved with the same Bravery in another Assault, repulsing with greater Loss the Enemy, of whom above Two Hundred were killed or wounded; with vast Reputation to *Alviano*, to whom was principally ascribed the Glory of that Defence, for within the Place he was ever watchful and ready for all the necessary Actions, and without by frequent Attacks he kept the Enemy Night and Day, as it were, under a perpetual Alarm. And, what added further to his Commendation, having ordered a Party of light Horse one

A. D. 1497. Day to make an Excursion from *Cervetri*, which was in the Hands of the *Orsini*, up to the Enemy's Camp, he took the Opportunity of the Tumult to make a Sally, in which he put to Flight the Foot that guarded the Artillery, and brought off some small Pieces into *Bracciano*. The Besieged, however, suffering greatly by the continual Battery and Fatigues they endured both Day and Night, began to support themselves principally by the Hopes of Relief. For *Carlo Orsini*, and *Vitellozzo*, who was attached to the *Orsini* by the Tye of the *Guelf* Faction, having received Money of the King of *France* for re-establishing their Regiments dispersed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, were arrived in *Italy* on board some Vessels that came from *Provence* to *Livorno*, and were making Preparations to relieve *Bracciano*, which was in great Danger. *Carlo*, therefore, betook himself to *Soriano*, where he was employed in assembling the old Soldiers with the Friends and Partisans of the *Orsini*, while *Vitellozzo* did the same at *Città di Castello*, mustering his own Soldiers, and Foot of the Country; and as soon as he had formed

formed them into a Body, he marched ^{A. D.} with Two Hundred Men at Arms, and ^{1497.} Eighteen Hundred Foot of his own Troops, and a Train of Artillery placed on Carriages after the *French* Manner, and joined *Carlo* at *Soriano*.

THE Ecclesiastic Generals judging it ^{The Siege of Bracciano raised.} dangerous, if the Enemy should proceed forwards, to be found in the Midst between them and the Garrison of *Bracciano*, and unwilling to leave the whole Country around them to be ravaged, as had already happened to some Villages, raised the Siege of *Bracciano*, and, having lodged the heavy Artillery in *Anguillara*, marched directly against the Enemy, whom they met between *Soriano* and *Bassano*, where a fierce Battle was fought, which lasted several Hours. And tho' in the Beginning ^{The Ecclesiastics defeated.} of the Action, *Frangiotto Orsini* was taken by the *Colonnas*, yet at last the Ecclesiastics were put to Flight with the Loss of their Baggage and Artillery, and above Five Hundred Men killed or taken, among whom the Duke of *Urbino*, *Gianpiero da Gonzaga*, Count *Nugolara*, and many

A. D. 1497. other Persons of Distinction remained Prisoners : But the Duke of *Candia*, who was slightly wounded in the Face, the Apostolical Legate, and *Fabritio Colonna* saved themselves by Flight in *Ronciglione*. The chief Glory of this Victory was ascribed to *Vitellozzo* ; for the Infantry of *Città di Castello*, which had been disciplined before, by him and his Brothers, after the Manner of the Ultramontanes, were this Day mightily assisted by his Industry ; for having provided them with Pikes, a Brace longer than what was in common Use, they had so great an Advantage, when he led them on to charge the Enemy's Foot, that deeply wounding them without being hurted themselves, on account of the Length of their Pikes, they easily put them to Flight, and with so much the greater Honour, because in the hostile Army were Eight Hundred German Foot, of which Nation the Italian Foot had been terribly afraid, ever since the Passage of King *Charles*.

AFTER

AFTER this Victory, the Conquerors began to make Incurſions all over the Country on this Side the *Tiber*, without any Controul ; and ſome, paſſing the River under *Monte Rotondo*, ſcoured the only Road which had remained ſecure. In this dangerous Juncture the Pope made new Levies in Abundance, and called *Gonſalvo*, and *Proſpero Colonna* out of the Kingdom of *Naples* to his Aſſiſtance. But a few Days after the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors with great Zeal interpoſing their good Offices in behalf of the *Orſini*, and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, out of Fear leſt from theſe Beginnings ſhould ariſe greater Diſorders in the Affairs of the League, a Peace was made with a very ready Inclination, as well of the Pope, who was by Nature extremely averſe to be at Expences, as of the *Orſini*, who deſtitute of Money, and abandoned by every Body, were ſenſible that they muſt be at laſt under a Neceſſity of yielding to the Power of the Pontiff.

Peace be-
tween the
Pope and
the *Orſini*.

A. D.

1497.

The
Articles.

THE Artieles imported, That the *Orfini* should be allowed to continue in the *French* Service, till the Time they had agreed was expired, in which it was expressly mentioned, they should not be bound to take up Arms against the Church. That all the Places taken from them in that War should be restored; for which they should pay Fifty Thousand Ducats to the Pope, Thirty Thousand as soon as *Federigo* should have released *Gian Gior-dano*, and *Pagolo Orfini* (for *Virginio* had died a few Days before in *Castel dell' Uovo*, either of a Fever, or, as some believed, of Poison) and the other Twenty Thousand in Eight Months, and that *Anguillara*, and *Cervetri*, should be deposited in the Hands of the Cardinals *Ascanio* and *San Severino*, as a Security for the Payment: That all the Prisoners taken at the Battle of *Soriano* should be set at Liberty, except the Duke of *Urbino*, on whose Freedom, tho' the Ambassadors of the Allies laboured hard to obtain it, the Pope did not insist, because he knew that the *Orfini* had it not in their Power to provide the Money stipulated,

any

any other Way than by that Duke's Ransom, which was not long after settled at ^{A. D. 1497.} Forty Thousand Ducats, with a Condition annexed, that he should not be set at Liberty till *Pagolo Vitelli*, who, at the Surrender of *Atella*, became a Prisoner to the Marquis of *Mantoua*, should be released without a Ransom.

As soon as the Pope had discharged himself of the War of the *Orsini*, not much to his Honour, and given Money to the Troops conducted by *Gonsalvo*, and joined them with his own, he sent that General on an Enterprize against *Ostia*, which was still kept in Possession under the Name of the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*; but a Battery was scarce raised before the Governor surrendered to *Gonsalvo* at Discretion. After the Reduction of *Ostia*, *Gonsalvo* entered *Rome* in a Kind of Triumph, with One Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred light Horfe, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, all *Spaniards*, and with the Governor led before him as a Prisoner, but a little after freed by him. He was conducted to the Pope sitting in Consistory, who received

Gonsalvo
takes *Ostia*

Enters
Rome in
Triumph.

A. D.

1497.

ceived him with the greatest Honours, and presented him with the Rose, which is usually bestowed every Year, by the Pontiff, as a Token of Esteem and Honour. After this he returned to join King *Federigo*, who had attacked the State of the Prefect of *Rome*, and possessed himself of all the Towns which the King of *France*, in his Acquisition of the Kingdom, had taken from the Marquis of *Pescara*, and bestowed on the Prefect. He had also taken *Sora* and *Arci*, but not the Castles, and had laid Siege to Fort *Gugliena*, having obtained, by Treaty, the State of Count *Uliveto*, before he sold the Dutchy of *Sora* to the Prefect.

IN the Midst, however, of all this Prosperity *Federigo* was not without Anxieties and Troubles, that were occasioned him as well by his Friends (for *Gonsalvo* kept part of *Calabria* in the Name of the Sovereigns of *Spain*) as from his reconciled Enemies. For the Prince of *Bisignano* one Evening coming out of *Castel dell' Uovo*, being dangerously wounded by a certain Greek, the Prince of *Salerno* was under
such

fuch terrible Apprehensions that this was done by the King's Orders, in Revenge of former Injuries, that, without difsembling the Cause of his Suspicion, he immediately quitted *Naples*, and went to *Salerno*. And tho' the King, to justify himself, ordered the *Greek*, that was in Prison, to be put into his Hands, in order to convince him that this Fact was perpetrated by the Fellow, to revenge an Injury the Prince of *Bisignano* had some Years before done him in the Person of his Wife ; yet, as it is not an easy Matter, after long and deep Enmities, to establish a sincere Reconciliation, which is commonly prevented either by Suspicion, or Desire of Revenge, so the Prince could never bring himself, after this, to trust *Federigo*. This giving Hopes to the *French*, who were still in Possession of *Monte Sant' Angelo*, and some other strong Places, of raising some new Commotions, was the Cause of their persevering with the greater Constancy in defending themselves.

A. D.

1497.

GREATER Dangers were at this Time apprehended in *Lombardy* from the Motions of the *French*, who were, for the present, secure from the Menaces of the *Spaniards*. For after there had passed between them some slight Attacks, and a Show of War, rather than any remarkable Action, except that the *French*, in a very short Time, took and burnt the Town of *Sausses*, a Treaty of Peace was set on Foot between those Kings; and to facilitate the Negotiation a Suspension of Arms was agreed on for two Months. *Charles*, on that Occasion, found himself enabled to attend with more Readiness to the Affairs of *Genoa* and *Savona*; and having already sent to *Asti* One Thousand Lances, and Three Thousand *Swiss*, with the same Number of *Gascons*; he gave Orders to *Trivulzi*, his Lieutenant in *Italy*, to assist *Battistino* and *Vincola*, designing, besides these Forces, to send back the Duke of *Orleans* with a great Army, in order to undertake the Conquest of the Dutchy of *Milan* in his own Name. And, to facilitate the Enterprize on *Genoa*, he sent *Ottaviano*

taviano Fregoso to the *Florentines*, requiring them to attack at the same time the *Lunigiana* and the Eastern *Riviera*, and ordered *Pagolo Battista Fregoso* with Six Gallies to annoy the Western. This Movement was a great Terror to the Duke of *Milan*, who was not sufficiently prepared of himself, nor had as yet received the promised Succours of the *Venetians*; so that, if it had been continued by proper Means, it would have produced important Effects, and more easily in the Dutchy of *Milan* than at *Genoa*. For in this City *Gianluigi dal Fiesco* and the *Adorni*, by the Mediation of *Lodovico*, being reconciled, had enlisted a good Number of Foot, and had, at the Expence of the *Venetians* and *Lodovico*, fitted out a Fleet, which was joined by Six Gallies sent by *Federigo*; for the Pope, retaining the Name of a Confederate more in Counsels and Shews than in Works, was unwilling in those Dangers to be at any Charge either for Land or Sea-Service. In the Progress of this Expedition *Battistino* attended by *Trivulzio* marched to *Novi*, a Town of which *Battistino* had been deprived by the Duke

A. D.

1497.

Expedition
against
Genoa.

A. D. Duke of *Milan*, tho' the Castle still held
 1497. out for him. At their Approach Count

Novi
 taken.

Gajazzo, who was posted in the Town with Sixty Men at Arms, Two Hundred light Horse, and Five Hundred Foot, thinking it not tenable retired to *Serravalle*. By the Acquisition of *Novi* the Exiles were not a little increased in Reputation, for, besides its being a Place capacious of a numerous Garrison, it obstructed the Passage from *Milan* to *Genoa*, and by its Situation was very commodious for annoying the circumjacent Places. After this *Battistino* took Possession of some other Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Novi*, and at the same time the Cardinal with Two Hundred Lances and Three Thousand Foot took *Ventimiglia*, and approached *Savona*; but the People within making no Motion, on Advice that *Giovanni Adorno* was approaching with a great Body of Foot, he retired to *Altare*, a Town of the Marquis of *Monferrato*, Eight Miles distant from *Savona*.

THE Beginning of the Enterprize, conducted by *Trivulzio*, was of greater Moment.

ment. That General, desirous of an Opportunity for kindling the War in the Dutchy of *Milan*, though by the King's Orders he was directed to attend first the Affairs of *Genoa* and *Savona*, seized on *Bosco*, a Town of Importance in the Territory of *Alessandria*, under a Pretence that, for the Security of the Forces that were marched into the *Riviera*, it was necessary to prevent the Passage of the Troops of the Duke of *Milan* from *Alessandria* into the Territory of *Genoa*. However, not manifestly to contravene the King's Commands, he advanced no further, and so lost a very favourable Opportunity: For the whole Country around was in a very great Commotion on the Seizure of *Bosco*, some out of Fear, and others from a Desire of Change; the Duke had on that Side no more than Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Six Thousand Foot; and *Galeazzo*, who was in *Alessandria*, began to despair of defending it without a greater Force; and *Lodovico* himself, no less fearful at this Event than he was by Nature under all other Misfortunes, requested of the Duke of *Ferrara*

A. D.

1497.

Trivulzio
takes
Bosco.

A. D. 1497. *rara* to interpose his Mediation for effecting some Agreement between him and the King of *France*. But *Trivulzio*, by his stopping between *Bosco* and *Novi*, gave Time to *Lodovico* to provide himself, and to the *Venetians*, who, very readily concurring to his Defence, had before sent Fifteen Hundred Foot to *Genoa*, to send a great Number of Men at Arms and light Horse to *Alessandria*, and at last to order Count *Pitigliano*, their Commander in chief, the Marquis of *Mantoua* having left their Service, to march with the greatest Part of their Forces to the Assistance of that State.

THUS the Expedition against *Genoa*, commenced with such great Hopes, proving abortive, *Battistino*, quite disappointed of his Purpose, because the City was too well provided to fear any Commotion, returned to join *Trivulzio*, alledging that his Designs failed of Execution because the *Florentines* had not attacked the Eastern *Riviera*. They had, indeed, judged it by no means a prudent Measure to intangle themselves in a War before the Affairs of the

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the *French* and their Arms appeared more prosperous and more powerful. *Vincola* also joined *Trivulzio*, having done nothing besides taking some Towns belonging to the Marquis of *Finale*, because he had interested himself in the Defence of *Savona*. A. D. 1497.

WHEN the *French* had got all their Forces united, they made some Excursions towards *Castellaccio*, a Place near *Bosco*, lately fortified by the Duke's Generals. But the Army of the Allies which assembled at *Alessandria* daily increasing, and, on the contrary, the *French* beginning to want Money and Provisions, and the Officers shewing an Impatience of submitting to the Orders of *Trivulzio*, he was obliged, after leaving Garrisons in *Novi* and *Bosco*, to retire with the Army under the Walls of *Asli*. It was believed that this Enterprize was injured and obstructed, as we see it frequently happen, by the Division of the Troops into several Bodies, and that if they had been all at first directed to march against *Genoa* they would, perhaps, have met with better Success, because, besides the Inclination

A. D. 1497. of the Factions, and the Resentment occasioned by the Affair of *Pietra Santa*, Part of the *German* Horse and Foot sent to *Genoa* by the Duke of *Milan*, after staying there a few Days, broke up on a sudden, and set out on their Return to *Germany*. It is possible also that the same Persons who the Year before hindered the Passage of the King into *Italy*, and the Relief of the Kingdom of *Naples*, might use the same Arts in obstructing the present Enterprise by the Difficulty of the Preparations; and the more probable, as it was reported that the Duke of *Milan*, who had laid heavy Taxes on his Subjects, had been very liberal to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and to some others who had great Interest with the King, the Cardinal of *St. Malo* himself coming in for his Share in the Disgrace as well as in the Money. But be that as it will, it is certain that the Duke of *Orleans*, who was appointed and mightily solicited by the King to pass to *Asti*, made all the Preparations necessary for such an Expedition, but delayed to set out, either because he distrusted the Continuance of the Provisions that were making.

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making, or, as many interpreted it, because he was loth to leave the Kingdom, the King being continually indisposed, and in case of his Death without Male Issue the Crown descending to him and his Heirs. A. D. 1497.

BUT the King, being disappointed in his Hopes of effecting a Change in *Genoa* and *Savona*, resumed the Negotiations which were begun with the Sovereigns of *Spain*, and were retarded by only one Difficulty, which was, that the King of *France*, desirous to remain in Readiness for the Undertaking on this Side the Mountains, refused to have the Affairs of *Italy* comprehended in the Truce of which they were treating, and the Sovereigns of *Spain*, pretending that they made no Difficulty of consenting to his Will in any other Respect than what concerned their Honour, insisted on comprehending them, because, it being the common Intention of both Parties to make a Truce in order to facilitate the treating of a Peace, they might with the greater Decency break off from the Confederacy which they had

M 2 contracted

A. D. contracted with the *Italians*. For which

1497.

Purpose, after several Embassies from one Party to another, the *Spanish* Artfulness at last prevailing, as is almost constantly the Case, a Truce was concluded between them for themselves, and for their Subjects and Dependents, and for those whom either of them should nominate. The Truce was to begin between the Principals on the Fifth Day of *March*, but for the Nominated not till Fifty Days after, and was to continue in Force for the whole Month of *October* next. Each Party nominated those *Italian* Potentates and States that were their Allies and Adherents, and the Sovereigns of *Spain*, among the rest, nominated King *Federigo* and the *Pisans*. It was agreed also to hold a Congress at *Montpelier* for treating of a Peace, whither the other Allies might send Ambassadors. In this Negotiation also the Sovereigns of *Spain* gave Hopes of finding some just Reason for joining with the King of *France* against the *Italians*, proposing from that Time to divide the Kingdom of *Naples* between themselves. This Truce, though made without the Participation

A Truce
with *Spain*

Participation of the *Italian* Confederates, *A. D.*
 was however acceptable to all, and especi-^{1497.}
 ally to the Duke of *Milan*, who was very
 desirous that the War should be removed
 from his own Dominions.

BUT as there was Liberty for acting of-
 fensively in *Italy* till the 25th of *April*,
Trivulzi and *Battistino*, in Conjunction
 with *Serenon*, returned into the Western
Riviera with Five Thousand Men, and at-
 tacked the Town of *Albenga*, and had al-
 most carried the Place at the first Assault,
 when entering in a disorderly Manner they
 were beaten out again by an inconsidera-
 ble Number of the Enemy. They next
 entered the Marquisate of *Finale*, to give
 Occasion for the *Italian* Army to come to
 its Relief, and in that Case to afford an
 Opportunity for bringing on an Engage-
 ment. This not succeeding, they did no-
 thing farther of Moment, especially as the
 Disagreement amongst the general Offi-
 cers increased, and the Payments grew eve-
 ry Day slacker, on account of the Truce.
 At this Time the Confederates had reco-
 vered all the Places they had lost, except

A. D. ^{1497.} *Novi*, which was attacked by Count *Gajazzo*, and tho' he was repulsed, the Place at last capitulated, so that nothing remained to the *French*, of all the Places they had taken, but a few small Towns in the Marquisate of *Finale*. During these Disturbances the Duke of *Savoy*, who was courted by all Parties with great Offers, and the Marquis of *Monferrato*, the Tutelage of whom had, by the King of the *Romans*, been settled on *Cosantino di Macedonia*, would neither declare for the King of *France* nor the Allies.

No Transaction of Moment happened this Year between the *Florentines* and *Pisans*, tho' the War was still prosecuted, except that Four Hundred light Horse, and Fifteen Hundred Foot of the *Pisans*, under the Command of *Gianpagolo Manfrone*, marched to retake a Redoubt which they had erected at the Lake, and lost when *Cæsar* broke up from *Livorno*, and Count *Rinuccio*, on Advice of their Motion, put himself on his March with a good Body of Horse, for the Relief of the Place, by the Way of *Livorno*; and the *Pisans*
not

not imagining they could be attacked but by the Way of *Pontadera*, he came upon them as they were storming the Redoubt, and easily put them to Flight, taking a great Number Prisoners. But the Truce occasioned a Suspension of Arms between the Parties, tho' accepted with an ill Will by the *Florentines*, because they judged the giving of Time to the *Pisans* to fetch Breath, unfavourable to their Affairs ; and because their Jealousy of *Piero de' Medici*, who was continually plotting, and their Apprehensions from the Troops of the *Venetians* in *Pisa*, obliged them to continue the same Expences notwithstanding the Truce.

A. D.

1497.

THUS Arms having been laid aside, or just on the Point of being so, every where, the Duke of *Milan*, tho' in his late Dangers he had shewn himself perfectly satisfied with the *Venetian* Senate for their ready Assistance, publicly extolling, in lofty Speeches, the *Venetian* Power and Virtue, and praising *Giovann. Galeazzo*, the first Duke of *Milan*, for his prudent Fore-

A. D.

1497.

fight in entrusting the Execution of his Will to the Faith of that Senate *, yet he could not bear that the Game of *Pisa*, started and pursued by him with such great Fatigue, and so many Arts, should remain in their Hands, which, as it manifestly appeared, was like to be the Event. Wherefore, to procure by Policy what he could not obtain by Force, he contrived that the Pope and the Ambassadors of the Sovereigns of *Spain*, who were all jealous of the exorbitant Greatness of the *Venetians*, should propose it as their Opinion, that, in order to deprive the *French* of all Footing in *Italy*, and to restore Peace and Harmony among all its Members, it would be necessary to induce the *Florentines* to enter into the common League, by reinstating them in the Possession of *Pisa*, since no other Means could effectually induce them to it. For as long as they remained in a State of Separation from the other Powers, they
never

* He was so well satisfied with their Behaviour, that when the *Venetian* Proveditors came to *Milan*, he ordered it to be proclaimed that, under great Penalties, the same Respect should be paid them, as was to his own Person.
Bembo.

never ceased stimulating the King of *France* A. D. 1497. to pass into *Italy*, and if he should pass, they might with their Money and Troops, especially as they were situated in the Heart of *Italy*, produce Effects of no small Importance.

THIS Proposal was contradicted by the *Venetian* Ambassador as highly prejudicial to the common Safety, representing that such was the Propensity of the *Florentines* to the King of *France*, that even the conferring this Obligation upon them would not warrant their putting any Confidence in them, unless they gave sufficient Security for the Performance of what they might promise ; and in an Affair of such great Moment, no Security was sufficient but the depositing *Livorno* into the Hands of the Confederates. This was artfully suggested by him, that, as he knew they would never consent to deposit a Place of so much Importance to their State, he might have the more Room to oppose the Motion. And the Affair succeeding afterwards as he had imagined, he took Occasion to inveigh against the Proposal with so much

Vehement

A. D. 1497. Vehemence, that the Pontiff and the Ambassador of the Duke of *Milan*, not thinking it safe to contradict him, for fear of detaching the *Venetians* from their Alliance, the Debate was broken off. The Pope then and the *Venetians* entered on a new Scheme for separating the *Florentines* from their Friendship with the *French* by violent Means, the unhappy State of their City, in which were no small Divisions among the Citizens, occasioned by the Form of Government, giving Encouragement to any Power that should think fit to molest them.

A Plot against the
Florentines.

FOR in the first Institution of the popular Authority in *Florence* there had not been introduced a Mixture of those Temperaments which, together with securing by due Methods the common Liberty, might prevent the Republic from being thrown into Confusion by the Ignorance and Licentiousness of the Multitude. For this Reason the Citizens of better Rank meeting with less Respect than their Condition seemed to require, and the People on the other hand jealous of their Ambition,

tion, Multitudes also of mean Capacities frequently assisting at important Debates, and the supreme Magistracy, to whom was referred the Decision of the most difficult Affairs, being changed every two Months, much Confusion was occasioned in the Government of the Republic*. To this must be added the great Authority of *Savonarola*, whose Auditors were bound together by a Sort of tacit Intelligence, and there being among them many Citizens of Distinction, and his Followers being also more numerous than those of the contrary Opinion, they appeared to have much the greater Share in the Distribution of Places in the Magistracy and of public Honours, by which Means the City becoming manifestly divided, one Party still clashed with the other in the public Councils, as it happens in divided Cities, when Men care not how much they obstruct the

common

* We read in some *Greek* Commentaries, that two powerful Ladies were perpetually disturbing the public Tranquillity with their Contentions for Superiority; that their Names were *Democratia* and *Aristocratia*; by the first was meant a Popular, by the second a Government of Optimates, or Nobles. No Wonder then that the *Florentines* should ever be at Variance, as they had introduced both these Forms into their Republic.

A. D.

1497.

common Good for the Sake of lowering the Reputation of the adverse Party. Those Disorders were the more dangerous because, besides the long Vexations, and heavy Expences borne by that City, there was that Year a very great Dearth, whence it might be presumed that the half-starved Populace were desirous of a Change. This evil Disposition gave Hopes to *Piero de' Medici*, who with these Opportunities was incited by some Citizens, of easily obtaining his Desire. Consulting therefore privately with his old Friend Cardinal *San Severino*, and with *Alviano*, and secretly stimulated by the *Venetians*, who judged that the Affairs of *Pisa* might be established by the Distresses of the *Florentines*, he resolved to enter clandestinely into *Florence*, especially since he was advised that *Bernardo del Nero*, a Man of Gravity and of mighty Authority, and who had long been a Friend of his Father and of himself, had been created Gonfaloniere of Justice, who was the Head of the supreme Magistracy, and that there had been elected to the same Magistracy some others whom, on account of antient Dependence, he imagined well affected

affected to his Greatness. The Pope ^{A. D.} gave his Consent to this Design, being ^{1497.} determined to separate the *Florentines* from the King of *France* by rough Treatment, since he had been frustrated in his Endeavours to effect it by kind Usage. Nor was the Undertaking opposed by the Duke of *Milan*, who was of Opinion that there was no solid Foundation to be laid for a good Understanding with *Florence*, on account of the Disorders of the Government ; tho', on the other Hand, he could not be pleased with the Restoration of *Piero*, as well on account of the Injuries he had done him, as because he suspected that he would depend too much on the Authority of the *Venetians*.

PIERO then collecting together what Money he had of his own, and what he could borrow from his Friends, or upon Credit, and assisted, as is supposed, underhand with a small Sum by the *Venetians*, went to *Siena*, and was followed by *Alviano* with some Horse and Foot, who moved only by Night, and out of the main Road, that his March might be quite a Secret

A. D. cret to the *Florentines*. At *Siena*, by the

1497.

Favour of *Gianjacopo* and *Pandolfo Petrucci*, principal Citizens of that State, and Friends of his Father and of himself, he was secretly supplied with some more Men, so that he set out with Six Hundred Horse, and Four Hundred Foot, choice Troops, Two Days after the Commencement of the Truce, in which the *Senese* were not comprehended, towards *Florence*, in Hopes that arriving, in a manner, suddenly, by Daybreak, he might easily, either by Means of the Disorder and Confusion, or by a Tumult which he expected to rise in his Favour, to gain an Entrance into the City. And his Design would not perhaps have proved abortive, had not Fortune supplied the Negligence of his Adversaries: For being advanced in the Beginning of the Night to *Tavernelle*, a Hamlet in the High Road, with an Intent to march the best Part of the Night, there fell a very heavy Shower of Rain, which gave him so much Hindrance, that he could not present himself before *Florence* till several Hours after Sunrise. This Delay gave Time to those who were, by Profession,

his

his particular Enemies (for the Populace ^{A. D.} and almost all the rest of the Citizens ^{1457.} stood quietly expecting the Issue) to take up Arms with their Friends and Partisans, and to give Orders for the suspected Citizens to be summoned by the Magistrates, and confined in the public Palace, and to fortify the Gate that leads to *Siena*, whither also, at their Intreaty, repaired *Pagolo Vitelli*, who in his Return from *Mantoua* had by Chance the Evening before taken up his Lodging in *Florence*. Hence no Stir being made in the City, *Piero* finding himself unable to force the Gate, to which he had approached within Bow-shot, and, after a Stay of Four Hours, apprehending himself in Danger of being surprised by the *Florentine* Men at Arms, whom he imagined, as the Truth was, to be recalled from the *Pisan*, returned to *Siena*. Here *Alviano* parted from him, and being afterwards introduced by the *Guelfs* into *Todi*, he plundered almost all the Houses of the *Ghibellines*, and massacred three and fifty of the principal Persons of that Faction. His Example was followed by *Antonello Savelli*, at his Entrance into
Terni,

A. D. *Terni*, and by the *Gatefchi*, who, by the

1497.

Favour of the *Colonnas*, got Admiſſion into *Viterbo*, in which Place, and in the circumjacent Territories they retaliated the ſame Measure upon the *Guelfs*. The Pope took no Notice of theſe Barbarities committed in his Dominions, abhorring to meddle in any thing that created him an Expence ; beſides, he was by Nature void of all Feeling for other People's Calamities, nor was he ever concerned at what might reflect on his Honour, if it did not interfere with his Intereſt or Pleaſures. But he was ſeverely puniſhed with domeſtic Miſfortunes, and beheld in his Family ſuch tragical Examples of Luſt and Cruelty, as are not to be paralleled in the moſt ſavage Regions. For having from the very Beginning of his Pontificate bent all his Thoughts on augmenting the temporal Greatneſs of the Duke of *Candia*, his eldeſt Son, the Cardinal of *Valenza*, whoſe Spirit, being totally averſe from the ſacerdotal Profeſſion, aſpired to the Exerciſe of Arms, not enduring that his Brother ſhould fill the Place for which he thought himſelf ſo well qualified, and
beſides

besides impatient at his having a greater Share in the Affections of a Lady with whom they were both in Love, incited by Lust and Ambition, powerful Incentives to the Commission of any shocking Piece of Villainy, caused him one Night, as he was riding through *Rome* unattended, to be assassinated, and then to be secretly thrown into the *Tiber* *. His Death beyond measure afflicted the Pope, who was as fond as ever was a Father of his Children, and not accustomed to feel the Strokes of Fortune; it being observable that, from his Childhood to this Present, he had met with the happiest Success in all his Affairs. And he was so extremely concerned that in a Consistory, after he had, with the greatest Compunction of Mind, and with Tears, heavily deplored his Misery, and condemned his own Actions and Manner of Life to that Day, he protested, with great Seriousness, that he would regulate his future Conduct by other Maxims, and institute a new

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* *Giovio* in his *Life of Gonzalvo Ferrando* writes, that *Cæsar Borgia*, after he had supped one Night with his Brother, procured an Assassin to cut his Throat, and then had him thrown into the *Tiber* at the Pillar by *Campo Martio*, from whence he was taken out two Days after by some Fishermen.

A. D.

1497.

Way of Living, and appointed some of the Cardinals to assist him in reforming the Customs and Orders of the Court. But after he had spent some Days in this laudable Work, on beginning to make some Discovery of the Author of his Son's Death, which was suspected to have been procured either by Cardinal *Ascanio* or by the *Orsini*, he first laid aside his good Intentions, then dried up his Tears, and returned with more Licentiousness than ever to those Projects and Practices in which he had hitherto spent the whole Course of his Life.

Piero's
Plot discovered.

AT this Time arose new Disturbances in *Florence* from the Movement that had been made by *Piero de' Medici*; for soon after his Departure came to Light the Correspondence he held in the Place, on which Occasion many noble Citizens were imprisoned, and others fled. After lawful Conviction and full Proof of the Order and Management of the Conspiracy, Sentence of Death was pronounced not only upon *Niccolo Ridolfi*, *Lorenzo Tornabuoni*, *Giannozzo Pucci*, and *Giovanni Cambi* for inviting

inviting *Piero* to come to *Florence*, and *A. D.*
Lorenzo for furnishing him with Money ^{1497.}
 for that Purpose, but also on *Bernardo del*
Nero, who was only charged with being
 conscious to the Plot and not revealing it.
 But this Offence, which by itself is capital according to the *Florentine* Statutes, and the Interpretation which most Lawyers give to the common Law, was rendered more heinous in him by his being *Gonfaloniere* when *Piero* came to *Florence*, since he was the more obliged in that high Station to discharge the Duty of a public Person than of one in a private Capacity. But the Relations of the condemned Person having appealed from the Sentence to the grand Council of the People, by Virtue of a Law that was made when the popular Government was established, those who had been the Authors of the Condemnation consulting together, and apprehensive that a Compassion on the Age and Nobility, and the Number of Relations of the Criminal might prevail on the Affections of the People to mitigate the Severity of the Judgment, obtained that it should be referred to a Consultation of a

A. D.

1497.

to be permitted to prosecute the Appeal or to prohibit it; where the Number and Authority of those prevailing who said that it was a dangerous Thing, and apt to excite Sedition, and that the Laws themselves allowed that to avoid Tumults the Laws might, in the like Cases, be dispensed with, several Members of the supreme Magistracy were, by pressing Importunities, and almost by Force and Menaces; constrained to consent that, notwithstanding the Interposition of the Appeal, Execution should be done the same Night. The most zealous Sticklers in this Affair were the Favourers of *Savonarola*, who was reproached for not dissuading the People, and especially his Followers, from the Violation of a Law which but a few Years before had been proposed by himself as highly salutary, and in a manner necessary for the Preservation of Liberty.

IN this same Year *Federigo* King of Naples obtained the Investiture of the Kingdom from the Pope, and was crowned with great Solemnity. After this he recovered

Federigo
is invested
and
crowned.

covered by Composition *Monte di Sant' A. D.*
Agnolo, which had been valiantly defended ^{1497.}
 by Don *Julian* of *Lorraine*, left Governor
 by the King of *France*, and also *Civita* and
 other Towns in the Possession of *Carlo di*
Sanguine; and having, as soon as the
 Truce was expired, driven quite out of the
 Kingdom the Prefect of *Rome*, he hastened
 to do the same by the Prince of *Salerno*,
 who at last being besieged in the Castle of
Diano, and forsaken by every body, ob-
 tained Leave to depart in Safety with his
 Effects, leaving that Part of his State which
 he had not yet lost in the Hands of the
 Prince of *Bisignano*, on Condition that
 he should give it up to *Federigo* as soon
 as he should have Advice of his safe Arrival
 at *Senigaglia*.

AT the End of this Year, the Congress
 (which had been transferred from *Mont-*
pellier to *Narbonne*) having before been in-
 terrupted by the immoderate Demands of
 the Sovereigns of *Spain*, the Negotiations
 were renewed between those Kings, the
 same Difficulties still recurring. For the
 King of *France* was determined to consent

A. D. 1497. to no Agreement in which *Italy* should be comprehended, and the Sovereigns of *Spain* thought it hard to leave him at free Liberty to reduce that Country under his Subjection, and yet were desirous to have no War with him on the other Side the Mountains, a War very troublesome to them, and in which they could expect no manner of Advantage. At length a Truce was concluded between them, which was to last till retracted, and Two Months longer. In this Truce were comprehended none of the *Italian* Potentates, to whom the Sovereigns of *Spain* notifying it alledged, that they had as much Right to make it without the Privy of the Confederates, as the Duke of *Milan* had to agree to the Treaty at *Vercelli* without their Knowledge; and that having, when the League was made, opened a War in *France*, and carried it on for many Months without receiving the promised Subsidies of Money from the Confederates, tho' they had just Cause to have no more Concerns with those who had disappointed them, they had yet several Times signified to them that if they pleased to pay them
the

the Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats, *A. D.*
 which they owed them, for the War they ^{1497.}
 had made, they would be content to accept
 them in Account for future Operations,
 having resolved to enter *France* with a
 very powerful Army. But the Confede-
 rates having given no Satisfaction on these
 Demands, nor to their Faith, nor to the
 common Benefit, and their Majesties per-
 ceiving that the League made for the Li-
 berty of *Italy* served as a Pretence for en-
 croaching on it, and oppressing it,
 since the *Venetians*, not contented with
 getting into their Hands so many of
 the Ports of the Kingdom of *Naples*, had,
 without any Right, possessed themselves of
Pisa, it seemed to them just and reasonable,
 since others had confounded the common
 Cause, to provide for their own by a Truce,
 tho' made in such a Manner that it might
 be called rather an Admonition than a
 Desire to separate from the League, for it
 was always in their Power to dissolve it by
 Retraction, which they would do whenever
 they should observe the *Italian* Potentates
 more sincerely disposed, and more plen-

A. D. 1497. tifully provided for promoting the common Benefit.

THE *Spanish* Monarchs had no entire Relish of the Sweets of this Peace, which were allayed by the Death of *John* Prince of *Spain*, only Son to them both*. About the same Time died also *Filippo* Duke of *Savoy*, leaving an only Son a Child. This Duke, after long Suspense, seemed at last inclined to take Part with the Confederates, who had promised to allow him a yearly Subsidy of Twenty Thousand Ducats. His Faith, however, was suspected, and he stood in so dubious a Light with them all, that if the King of *France* should make any extraordinary Efforts, they could not promise themselves much from his Assistance.

AT the End of this Year also the Duke of *Ferrara* restored the Castelletto of *Genoa*, deposited in his Hands two Years before, to *Lodovico*, his Son-in-Law. But before this he applied to the King of *France*,
to

* The Prince of *Spain* was married to *Margaret*, *Maximilian Cæsar's* Daughter.

to demand that, according to the Articles *A. D.*
of *Vercelli*, he might be reimbursed of one *1497.*
Half of the Charges he had been at in
keeping the Garrison. *Charles* did not re-
fuse Payment, provided the Duke would
deposit the *Castelletto* in his Hands; which,
he said, he ought to do, because *Lodovico*
had violated that Treaty. The Duke re-
plying, that this did not appear, and that
to constitute *Lodovico* guilty of Contuma-
cy, a Summons was first necessary, the
King offered to deposit the Money, in or-
der that, before it was paid, it should be
proved that he was bound to resign it to
him. But *Ercole* was more influenced by
the Instances of the *Venetians* and of his Son-
in-Law to the contrary; being moved, not
only by the Intreaties and Wiles of *Lodo-*
vico, who had a few Days before nominat-
ed Cardinal *Ippolito*, his Son, to the Arch-
bishoprick of *Milan*, but much more by
the Danger of provoking the Enmity of
such powerful Neighbours, at a Time
when the Hopes of a *French* Invasion les-
sened every Day. He therefore recalled
his Son *Don Ferrando* from the *French*
Court, and then restored the *Castelletto*

A. D. 1497. to *Lodovico*, who, at the same time, paid him all his Disbursements in maintaining the Garrison, including that Share which was to have been paid by the King. The *Venetians*, willing to make the Duke a Return for so signal a Service, took his Son *Ferrando* into their Pay, with One Hundred Men at Arms. Though the Restoration of the *Castelletto*, in this unjustifiable Manner, greatly concerned the King's Reputation in *Italy*, yet he shewed no proper Resentment: On the contrary, when *Ercole* sent an Ambassador to make Excuses, alledging that his Dominions lying contiguous to the *Venetians* and to the Duke of *Milan*, who had sent him a threatening Message amounting to little less than a Declaration of War, he had been forced to obey Necessity, the King received and heard him as coolly as if he had been talking of some indifferent Affair, as might be expected from one who, besides his Proceeding as it were by Chance in all his Actions, continued in his usual Straits and Difficulties. His Desire to return into *Italy* was as ardent as ever; and he never had a fairer Opportunity, since he had

had made a Truce with *Spain*, the *Swiss* A. D
 had newly confirmed their Alliance with 1497.
France, and there were many Causes for
 Misunderstanding amongst the Allies in
Italy: And yet the Artifices of the Courtiers
 rendered useless most of these Advantages,
 some amusing him with Pleasures, others
 encouraging him indeed to this Undertak-
 ing, but requiring such powerful Prepara-
 tions by Sea and Land, and such Sums of
 Money, as made it impracticable for a
 long Space of Time ; others laying Hold
 of every Difficulty and Opportunity, and
 the Cardinal of *St. Malo* not failing in
 his usual Tedioufness in getting ready the
 Money. Under such Management the
Italian Expedition not only became more
 doubtful as to the Time it should be under-
 taken, but many Things which were almost
 brought to Perfection were dropped. For
 the *Florentines*, for Instance, who had ear-
 nestly solicited his Majesty's Return, had a-
 greed, as soon as the War was begun, to make
 a Diversion with their Forces, and for that
 End had concerted with *Aubigni*, that he
 should come by Sea into *Tuscany* with
 One Hundred and Fifty *French* Lances,
 Fifty

A. D. Fifty of which were to be maintained at
1497. the Expence of the Republic, and to take
 upon him the Command of their Army. And the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who had
 been dishonourably discharged from his
 Command in the *Venetian* Service, after
 his glorious Campaign of *Naples*, on a Sus-
 picion of his Design of entering into the
French Pay, was now treating in Earnest
 for that Purpose: And the Duke of *Savoy*
 was confirmed in his Adherence: Besides
 these *Bentivoglio* promised on the Arrival
 of the *French* to be at the King's Devotion;
 and the Pope himself, after much Hesita-
 tion and Demurring whether he should
 join him, of which he was continually
 treating, had determined at least not to
 oppose him. But the King's Slowness
 and Negligence put a Damp on the
 Spirits of every one: No News was heard
 of any Troops passing into *Italy* to their
 Quarters at *Asti*, as had been promised;
Aubigni could not receive his Dispatches;
 nor did the King send Money to pay the
Vitelli and the *Orsini*, who were his own
 Officers, an Affair of much Importance in
 an *Italian* War; for which Reason the
Vitelli

Vitelli were on the Point of enlisting themselves in the Service of the *Venetians*, but ^{A. D. 1497.} were prevented by the *Florentines*, who not having Time to give the King Notice of their Designs, engaged them, for a Year, into the common Service of the King and themselves. This was very pleasing to the King ; but he neither ratified the Agreement, nor made any Provision for his Share of the Payments : On the contrary, he sent *Gemel* to borrow of the Republic One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats. At last, making his own Will, as he frequently did, the Will of others †, he departed suddenly from *Lions*, and went to *Tours*, and thence to *Ambois*, with his usual Promise of a speedy Return : The News of which so much disheartened his Friends in *Italy*, that *Battistino Fregoso* reconciled himself with the Duke of *Milan*, who, taking Encouragement from such Proceedings, discovered daily more and more the Ill-will he had conceived against the *Venetians*,

† *Facendo della Volontà sua quella d'altri*, regarding others as Slaves, who are said to have no Will of their own but that of their Masters.

A. D. *netians* on account of the Affairs of *Pisa*,

1497.

urging the Pope and Sovereigns of *Spain* to renew, but with greater Efficacy, the Negotiation for the Restitution of that City.

ON account of this Negotiation the *Flo-*
rentines taking Encouragement, in the Be-
 1498. ginning of the Year 1498, sent an Amba-
 sador to *Rome*, with Orders to proceed
 with such Circumspection, that the Pontiff
 and the others might understand that, in
 case *Pisa* was restored to them, they would
 unite with the others in the Defence of
Italy against the *French*: And yet that
 the King of *France*, if the Effect did not
 follow, might have no Cause to enter-
 tain any Suspicion of them. For seve-
 ral Days this Affair was agitated in *Rome*:
 The Pope, with the Ambassadors of *Spain*,
Milan, and *Naples*, openly insisting with
 the *Venetian* Ambassador, that it was ne-
 cessary for the common Safety, by this
 Means to induce the *Florentines* to unite
 against *France*, and that his Senate should
 consent to it with the rest of the Allies, that
 so the Roots of all Offences being extir-
 pated,

pated, there might be no Cause for any Power in *Italy* to invite the Ultramon-
A. D.
1498.
 tanes ; and if the Union was obstructed in this Point, Matter might be perhaps administered to others for forming new Schemes, from which might result some important Alteration to the Detriment of the whole Body. But the *Venetian* Senate absolutely refused to give Ear to such a Proposition ; and, covering their Ambition under other Reasons, answered, by the Mouth of their Ambassador, with grievous Complaints, That this Motion was not made for the public Good, but proceeded from the malignant Disposition of one of the Allies towards their Republic. For the *Florentines* being warmly attached by their Inclinations to the *French*, and persuading themselves by their Return to get Possession of the best Part of *Tuscany*, there remained no Room to doubt that the reinstating them in *Pisa* was not sufficient to extinguish in them this Inclination, but would rather prove a very dangerous Step. For the more potent they became, so much the more they would have it in their Power to disturb the Peace of
Italy.

A. D.

1498.

Italy. That the Honour and Faith of all the Allies was concerned in this Affair, but especially that of their Republic : For all the Confederates had engaged at first to assist the *Pisans* in the Defence of their Liberty ; but in the Sequel, to save Expences, had left the whole Burthen on them, tho' for the public Good, who had never grudged either Money or Trouble on this Account, thinking it too much to their Dishonour to abandon them, or fail in their Faith which they had given them, which, tho' others esteemed their own as nothing, they, who were always accustomed to observe it, would in no respect violate : That it was highly disagreeable to the *Venetian* Senate to be charged, without any Respect at all, by the rest, with what was begun by common Consent, and prosecuted for the common Good ; and that they should, with so much Ingratitude, be stoned for their good Works : Tho' the intolerable Expence which they had been at in this and other Undertakings, and the many Troubles and Dangers which they had undergone since the League was made, did not demand such a Recompense, but on the contrary

contrary were of Opinion that they might boldly say that they had saved *Italy*. That the Battle on the River *Taro* was fought by no Forces but theirs, and that no Arms but theirs had recovered the Kingdom of *Naples*. What Army had obliged *Novara* to surrender? What constrained the King of *France* to repass the *Alps*? Whose Forces had opposed them in *Piedmont*, as often as he had attempted to return? Nor can any one deny that the principal Motive to those Actions was a Desire of the Safety of *Italy*. For the *Venetians* were never the first exposed to Danger; nor were they bound to correct those Disorders of which they had never been the Occasion. For they did not invite the King of *France* into *Italy*, nor accompany him with their Forces after he was arrived on that Side the Mountains; nor had they, by their Parsimony, endangered the common Cause: But, on the contrary, the *Venetian* Senate, as it was often needful, had remedied the Disorders proceeding from the Faults of others to the common Detriment. If such Exploits were not acknowledged,

A. D.
1498.

or were so soon forgot, yet they would not, out of Resentment, following the inexcusable Example of others, forfeit their Faith, or act below the Dignity of their Republic, since the Security and Benefit of all *Italy* were particularly connected with the Preservation of the Liberty of the *Pisans*.

WHILST this Affair was debating with open Disagreement between the Allies, a new Accident happened, that produced Effects very different from what the Public expected. For on the Night preceding the Eighth of *April* King *Charles* died at *Ambois*, of a Catarrh, called by the Physicians an Apoplexy, which had seized him while he was standing and looking on the Players at Tennis. The Fit was so violent, that after a few Hours, without being removed, he expired. Thus ended, abruptly, a Life, whose Motions rather springing from some rash and sudden Impulse, than directed by the Rules of true Policy, occasioned so many

Revo-

Death of
the King
of France.

Revolutions, and gave such Disturbance A. D.
 to the public Repose ; and would in all 1498.
 Probability, had it lasted longer, have
 been the Cause of many more Calami-
 ties in *Europe*. For this Prince seemed
 to have set his Heart so much on his
 darling Scheme of subjecting *Italy*, that
 it was expected he would at length
 have surmounted all Difficulties, by his
 own Reflections and steady Application,
 assisted by the Enemies of the Car-
 dinal, the grand Opposer of his Pro-
 ject. At the Time of his Death, the
Italians were in a State of Uncertain-
 ty ; for as his Motions varied, so their
 Expectations of his Passage increased and
 decreased in Proportion. It was well
 known the Pope, from a fond Desire
 of exalting his Children, held private
 Negotiations with *Charles* ; and it was
 reported afterwards, that the Duke of
Milan, that he might not stand in conti-
 nual Fears, was acting in the same Man-
 ner *. *Charles* dying without Issue, the

* The Conditions on which *Lodovico* would have been reconciled to *Charles*, were the Banishment of the Duke of *Orleans* into *Normandy*, and the Delivery of *Don Trivulzio* to him ; which would have been effected, if the King had not died. *Corio*.

A. D.

1498.

Crown reverted to *Lewis Duke of Orleans* who was the next in Blood by the Male Line: That Prince was at *Blois*, to which Place the Royal Guards and the whole Court, immediately on the King's Death, resorted; after that all the Lords of the Kingdom, one after another, paid their Respects, and acknowledged him for their King, tho' there were not wanting some who tacitly murmured that, by the antient Statutes of that Kingdom, he had forfeited his Right to the Crown by taking up Arms against it in the War of *Bretany*.

PALM-SUNDAY, which was the Day after the Death of *Charles*, was the Period of *Savonarola's* Authority in *Florence*. Multitudes of Complaints against him had been carried to *Rome*, where he was accused of preaching, in a scandalous Manner, against the bad Discipline and Vices of the Clergy and Court of *Rome*. He was further charged with unsound Doctrine,

Doctrines, and with fomenting Divisions ^{A. D.} in *Florence*. For these Misdemeanours he ^{1498.} had been several times summoned to *Rome* by the Pope, but had continued refractory to his Orders, alledging divers Excuses for his Disobedience; for which he was at last the Year before excommunicated by the Pontiff. Under so severe a Censure, he refrained for some Months from preaching; and probably would have been absolved, had he continued some time longer in the same Submission: For the Pope himself despised him, and had exercised his spiritual Arms more at the Sollicitations of some Friars, who hated *Savonarola*, than from his own Inclination. But *Savonarola* finding that by his Silence his Interest declined, and the Ends for which he had preached could not be answered, despising the pontifical Orders, returned again to his Office; asserting that the Censures pronounced against him were unjust and invalid, as contrary to the Divine Will, and pernicious

A. D.

1498.

nicious to the public Welfare ; and at the same time inveighed with the greatest Vehemence against the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*. This occasioned a very great Tumult: For his Enemies, who got Ground every Day, stirred up the Populace, who, above all Things, abhorred Disobedience to the Pope ; and had him reprimanded by some in the Government, for his Audaciousness, which tended to alienate the Pope's Affections from the *Florentines*, at a Juncture when he was treating with the Allies for the Restitution of *Pisa*, and ought by all means to be confirmed in that Inclination. On the other Hand, his Followers alledged in his Defence, that Divine Service was privileged from Disturbances ; that it was dangerous to admit of an Example, which would be a Precedent for Popes to intermeddle in the Affairs of their Government. These Contentions lasted several Days, till *Alexander* in great Wrath thundering out new Briefs, and threatening to interdict the City, the Magistrates ordered him to desist from preaching. *Savonarola* obeyed ; but the *Dominican* Friars of his Convent went from

from Church to Church, preaching the same Doctrines ; and the Divisions among the Religious being as great as those among the Laity, the Friars and other Orders preached with great Vehemence against him. These Disputes were carried on with great Heat, and excited such Animosities both in Church and State, that at last a Friar who was a violent Devotee of *Savonarola*, and a Friar of the Order of the *Minorites*, agreed both to try by Fire the Merits of their Cause, in the Presence of the whole City, with an Intent that the Disciple of *Savonarola*, by saving or burning himself, might convince the World, whether his Master was a Prophet or an Impostor. For he had several times advanced in his Preaching that, if it were necessary, God would work a Miracle to prove the Truth of his Predictions, and conduct him safe through the Flames of a burning Pile. But the Affair now becoming too serious, he grew very uneasy that his Friar should have gone so far without consulting him ; and whilst he was meditating on Expedients to put off the Challenge, those among the Citizens who were his Enemies push-

A. D. ed it on vehemently, and thought this a

1498.

good Opportunity of getting rid of so malignant an Incendiary. On the Day appointed, the two Friars, accompanied by all those of their Convents, appeared in the great Square before the Palace; where were assembled not only the Inhabitants of *Florence*, but also Multitudes that came out of the Country. Every thing was ready, when the *Franciscans* were informed, that *Savonarola* had ordered his Friar to enter the Fire with the Sacrament in his Hand; at which they took Exception; Alledging, that if the Host was burnt, it would endanger the Authority of the Christian Faith, by affecting the Minds of the weak and ignorant People. But *Savonarola*, who was present, insisting that the Experiment should be performed in that Manner, the Trial was set aside. *Savonarola's* Credit suffered greatly on this Occasion; so much that the next Day, on a casual Tumult, the People took up Arms; and being countenanced by the supreme Magistracy, they forced themselves into the Monastery of *San Marco*, seized on *Savonarola*,

narola, and two other Friars, and carried them to the public Prison *. During this Confusion, the Relations of those Citizens, who the Year before had been beheaded, assassinated *Francesco Valori*, a Nobleman of great Authority, for being chief Patron of *Savonarola*, and the principal Cause that the Appeal of their Relations to the popular Council on that Occasion had not been admitted,

A. D.
1493.

SAVONAROLA was afterwards put to the Question, but in a gentle Manner; and his Examination and Confession were by the Magistracy formed into a Process, and ordered to be published. In this Paper he was cleared of several Calumnies that had been laid to his Charge; such as leading a dissolute Life, being avaricious, and having kept secret Correspondence with foreign Princes. He confessed that those Events he had foretold were not by Divine Revelation, but from his own Opinion founded on the Doctrine of the Holy

* The Name of one of these Friars was *Fra Dominico of Pescia*, the other *Fra Silvestro of Florence*. *Pietro Del-
fino*.

A. D.

1498.

Holy Scripture, which he had profoundly studied : That what he had preached, had not proceeded from any Malignity, nor from any ambitious Views of ecclesiastical Preferments, but from Zeal, and in Hopes that, through his Means, a general Council might be assembled, in which the corrupt Manners of the Clergy might be reformed, and the State of the Church of God, which was so greatly degenerated, might be restored, so as to resemble, as much as possible, the Times next to those of the Apostles ; in which laudable Attempt, if it had pleased God to help his Labours, he should have thought himself more happy and glorious, than if he had acquired the Popedom : For the first could not have been procured but by good and sound Doctrine and Virtue, such as would have gained him the Reverence and Esteem of all the World ; whereas the other might be obtained, as it often was, by wicked Means, or good Fortune. He confirmed the Contents of this Process in the Presence of many Regulars, some of whom were of his own Order ; but in such concise Terms, as, if we may believe

lieve his Friends, might admit of different Interpretations. After this the General of the *Dominicans*, and Bishop *Romolino*, afterwards Cardinal *Sorrente*, who had been sent from *Rome*, on purpose to assist at this Trial, degraded * *Savonarola*, and two other Friars of his Order, with the Ceremonies used by the *Roman Church* on such Occasions, and delivered them over to the secular Power. They were first hanged, and then their Bodies were burnt, in the Presence of as great a Multitude, as had assembled before in the same Place, in Expectation of assisting at the miraculous Experiment of Fire. *Savonarola* died with great Intrepidity, without uttering a Word concerning his Guilt, or his Innocence; which left the Minds of the People suspended in the same Variety of Judgments and Passions. Many called him an Impostor, while others affirmed that the Confession published in his Name was either false, or what he had said, as he was of a very delicate Complexion, had

A. D.
1498.

Savonarola hanged and burnt.

been

* *Delfino* writes, that when the Bishop, in degrading him, said he separated him from the Church, *Savonarola* replied, You mean from the Church militant.

A. D. been extorted from him more by the

1498.

Force of Torments than of Truth. A Frailty which, they said, was excusable; since the Prince of the Apostles, who was neither imprisoned, nor compelled by Torments, nor any extraordinary Force, at the simple Interrogation of Servant Maids and Waiters, had denied being the Disciple of that Master, whose holy Doctrine he had imbibed, and to whose Miracles he had been an Eye-Witness.

The End of the Third Book.

Francesco



Francesco Guicciardini's

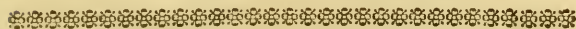
H I S T O R Y

O F

The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K IV. *ending with the Volume.*



T H E C O N T E N T S.

Lewis XII. King of France, asserts his Right to the Dutchy of Milan, and with a numerous Army gets Possession. It is regained by Lodovico; and lost again. The Affairs of Pisa are left to the Arbitration of the Duke of Ferrara. Cæsar Borgia gives up the Cardinal's Hat, and takes the Title of Duke Valentino.

THE Death of Charles King of A. D.
France delivered Italy from the 1498.
Fear of imminent Dangers from
the French Power: For it was not supposed

A. D. ed that the new King, *Lewis XII.* would,

1498.

Qualifica-
tions of
Lewis XII

at the Commencement of his Reign, intangle himself in a War on this Side of the Mountains. But the reflecting Part of Mankind was apprehensive, that the Evil was only ripening, and would in Time break out with greater Violence. They considered, that the new Monarch was of mature Years, experienced in military Affairs, frugal in his Expences, and without comparison steadier in his Resolutions, and less liable to be imposed on than his Predecessor. He had not only the same Claim to the Kingdom of *Naples*, but pretended also to the Dutchy of *Milan* in his own Right, which he derived from *Madama Valentina* his Grandmother, who was given in Marriage to *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, Brother to *Charles VI.* by her Father *Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti*, when he was only Imperial Vicar, and had not yet obtained the Title of Duke of *Milan*. Her Dowry was the City and Territory of *Asli*, besides a vast Sum of Money; and in the Marriage Articles it was expressly stipulated, that in case of Failure of Issue Male of *Galeazzo's* Body, *Valentina* and her Issue should

should succeed to the Dutchy of *Milan*. *A. D.*
 This Convention, in itself of no Validity, ^{1498.}
 was at that Time, as the *French* write, the
 Imperial Throne being vacant, confirmed
 by the pontifical Authority. For the *Ro-*
man Pontiffs presume that the Admini-
 stration of the vacant Empire belongs to
 themselves, and the Male Line of *Galeaz-*
zo failing by the Death of *Filippo Maria*
Visconti, *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, Son of
Valentina, laid Claim to the Succession of
 that Dutchy. But as the Ambition of
 Princes makes them very ready to em-
 brace all Pretences to Empire, tho' never
 so frivolous, there were other Pretenders
 to it at the same Time: For the Emperor
Frederic claimed it as a State which, by the
 Extinction of the Line nominated in the
 Investiture made by *Wenceslaus* the Em-
 peror to *Giovanni Galeazzo*, reverted to
 the Empire; and *Alfonso* King of *Aragon*
 and *Naples* grounded his Claim on his
 being instituted Heir by the Will of *Filip-*
po: But the Power, Artifices, and good
 Fortune of *Francesco Sforza* got the bet-
 ter of all his Competitors; and, to ac-
 company his Arms with some Colour of
 Rea-

A. D.

1498.

Reason, he asserted, that the Right of Succession was invested in his Wife *Bianca*, who, 'tho' a natural Daughter, was still the only Child of *Filippo*.

THE above-mentioned *Charles* of *Orleans* was taken Captive at the Battle of *Agencourt*, and carried into *England*, where he remained Twenty-five Years a Prisoner, without being able, thro' his Poverty and ill Fortune, to make good his Right. Nor could he obtain any Aid from his near Relation *Lewis* XI. For that Prince, at the Beginning of his Reign, received a great deal of Trouble from his *Grandeess*, who under a Pretence of public Good, but, in reality, to gratify their own private Revenge and Ambition, had taken up Arms against him; which effectually convinced him, that his Security and Grandeur depended on lowering the Pride and Ambition of the great Men of his Kingdom. And, upon this account, *Lewis* of *Orleans*, the Prisoner's Son, could never obtain any Assistance from him, tho he was his Son-in-Law. After the Death of *Lewis* XI. the Duke
of

of *Orleans*, not brooking that *Anne* Dutcheſs of *Bourbon*, the King's Siſter, ſhould be preferred to him in the Regency during the Minority of *Charles VIII.* firſt ſtirred up Commotions in *France*, tho' with bad Succeſs, and afterwards retiring into *Bretany*, met with ſtill greater Miſfortunes. There he joined that Party which declared againſt the Marriage of *Anne* the Heireſs of *Bretany* with *Charles*, leſt that Dutchy, after the Death of *Francis* her Father without male Iſſue, ſhould be annexed to *France*. But whiſt he was privately aſpiring to the ſame Matrimony, he was taken at the Battle of *St. Aubin*, fought between the *French* and *Bretons*, carried into *France*, and caſt into Priſon, where he continued Two Years, without being able to make good his Pretenſions to the Dutchy of *Milan*; and tho' afterwards releaſed by the King's Clemency, he could procure no Aſſiſtance from him, and never made any Attempt, except when, by the King's Orders, being left in *Aſti*, he took the Opportunity to ſeiſe on *Novara*, but with little Succeſs. But now that he was in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, he had

A. D.
1498.

nothing so much at Heart as the Conquest of the *Milaneſe*, which he regarded as his own Patrimony. From his Infancy he had nourished this Deſire, which was augmented by the Thoughts of his Sufferings in *Novara*, and by the insolent Treatment he had received at *Aſti* from *Lodovico*, againſt whom he meditated Revenge. Purſuant to this Reſolution, a few Days after the Death of *Charles*, by the Advice of his Council, he took upon him the Titles, not only of King of *France*, and, in regard to *Naples*, of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Two Sicilies*, but ſtyled himſelf alſo Duke of *Milan*. As he had then determined to make no Secret of his real Sentiments in regard to the Affairs of *Italy*, he immediately notified in Form to the Pope, *Venetians*, and *Florentines* his Acceſſion to the Crown; acquainting them at the ſame Time with his Deſign of coming into *Italy*, and more particularly of his Reſolution of making himſelf Maſter of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

THIS

THIS Undertaking seemed to be attended with many Advantages: The Death of *Charles* had altered the Sentiments of several of the *Italian* Princes. The Pope, incited by an immoderate Thirst of Dominion, thought he could not compass his Ends, whilst *Italy* was in Peace. The *Venetians* imagined that *Charles* could never forget the Injuries they had done him; but now that Fear ceasing, they were for entering into Terms of Friendship with the new King; and this Disposition would, in all Probability, daily increase, because *Lodovico Sforza*, tho' sensible that he had to deal with a harder and more implacable Enemy, yet flattered himself with Hopes, as did also *Federigo of Aragon*, that *Lewis* could not so soon attend the Affairs on this Side the Mountains, and his present Resentment hindering him from discovering his future Dangers, he would not desist from opposing their Senate in the Affairs of *Pisa*.

THE HISTORY OF

THE *Florentines* were the only State that seemed inclinable to withdraw their Friendship from *France*. For they considered, that tho' *Lewis* had been in their Interest, yet now he was come to the Crown he was under no sort of Ties to their Republic, either by virtue of Faith given, or Benefits received, as his Predecessor had been by the Treaties of *Florence* and *Assi*, and by their having chosen to expose themselves to a Multitude of Troubles and Dangers rather than relinquish his Alliance. Besides, the Discord that continually increased between the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan* was the Cause that, being freed from their Apprehensions of the Forces of the Confederates, and placing more Hopes in the near and certain Assistance from *Lombardy*, than in the distant and uncertain Succours from *France*, they set a less Value on the *French* Friendship.

IN these different Dispositions of Mind among the *Italian* Potentates, their Proceedings were no less different. The
Venetians

Venetians sent immediate Orders to their Secretary at *Turin* to repair to the *French* Court, and soon after, in order to lay a Foundation for a firm Friendship, which they expected would be more and more conducive to the Interest of their Republic, they sent Three Ambassadors to congratulate the new King on his Accession, and to excuse their Conduct in regard to *Charles*, by assuring him that it proceeded from well-grounded Reasons they had to think, that he not only meditated the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but also that of all *Italy*. And the Pope, who was desirous to translate his Son *Cæsar* from the Cardinalship to temporal Greatness, and exalted his Thoughts to higher Projects, sent Ambassadors to *Lewis* to negotiate a Traffic of heavenly Treasures for temporal Dominion. He well knew that the King was ardently solicitous to be divorced from his barren and deformed Wife *Joane*, who had almost been forced upon him by *Lewis XI.* and no less desirous of espousing *Anne* the late King's Widow, not so much out of Fondness with respect to their former Love before

A. D.
1498.

Venetians
send Am-
bassadors
to *Lewis*.

Pope sends
Ambassa-
dors.

A. D. the Battle of *St. Aubin*, but because by
 1498. this Marriage he would secure to himself
 the Possession of the Dutchy of *Bretany*,
 which lay so convenient, and was so great
 an Addition to his Dominions; an Affair
 of Importance, and not to be compassed
 without the Intervention of the Pontifical
 Authority.

Florentines NOR did the *Florentines* fail to send Am-
 fend Am- bassadors, according to the antient Custom
 bassadors. of that City, out of Respect to the Crown
 of *France*, and to confirm the King in the
 Opinion of their Merits, and of the Ser-
 vices they had done the late King;
 to which they were mightily sol-
 licited by the Duke of *Milan*, that by
 their Means the Negotiation of the *Veneti-*
ans might be obstructed when both the
 Republics came to debate on the Affairs of
Pisa, and in Hopes that, by their gaining
 some Credit and Authority with the
 King, they would take an Opportunity
 in bringing about, what he heartily wish-
 ed, a Reconciliation between himself
 and the King.

THE Ambassadors of all these Powers were chearfully received by the King, and a Treaty immediately set on Foot with every one of them, tho' he was fully determined to make no Movement in *Italy*, till he had first secured the Kingdom of *France* by means of new Alliances with the neighbouring Princes.

BUT Heaven had decreed that the Flame which *Lodovico*, out of an immoderate Desire of Dominion, had kindled up in *Pisa*, and was continually feeding, should at last seize and destroy its Author. That Prince, either out of Envy, or Fear of impending Danger to himself and the other Potentates of *Italy* from the exorbitant Power of the *Venetians*, could not bear to see the Fruits of all his laboured Schemes and Arts of Policy become a Prey to ambitious Intruders. In this Disposition, after he had maturely considered the Resolution of the *Florentines*, and their Steadiness in the Affair of *Pisa*, imagining that by the Downfal of *Savonarola*, and Death of *Valori*, who constantly op-

P 4

posed

A. D. 1498. *Lodovico* resolves to assist the *Florentine*. posed his Measures, he might now treat with them on more firm and confident Hopes of Success, he took a Resolution to assist them with all his Power in the Recovery of *Pisa*, which neither his Negotiations nor Authority, nor the Persuasions of others had been able to effect, vainly persuading himself that, before the King of *France* could make any Movement with an Army, *Pisa*, either by Force or Treaty, would be reduced under the Power of the *Florentines*; and he took for granted, that the *Venetian* Senate, actuated by that Prudence, which had not operated on himself, would not think *Pisa* of such Consequence, as, merely out of Revenge, to suffer the Liberty of all *Italy* to be endangered by the Return of the *French*, whom, at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure, they had so lately expelled,

THIS imprudent Resolution was hastened by an Action that happened in the Territory of *Pisa*, to the Disadvantage of the *Florentines*. They had posted a good Body of Troops at *Pontadera*, where they

they received Intelligence that a Party of Seven Hundred Horse and One Thousand Foot, that had marched out of *Pisa*, were returning from the Marshes of *Volterra* with a great Booty. Count *Rinuccio*, and *Guglielmo de' Pazzi*, the *Florentine* Commissary, drew out all their Force in order to intercept their Return, and charging them in the Vale of *San Regolo* put them in Disorder, and recovered the best part of the Effects. As soon as the *Pisans* had Advice of the Commissary's Motions, they sent out One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, who attacked their Enemies while they were in Disorder, and intent on Plunder, with so much Vigour, that tho' the Count did all that was possible to rally his Men at Arms, the *Florentines*, after a faint Resistance made by some of their Foot, were entirely defeated, a great Number of the Infantry killed, many taken Prisoners, among them several Officers, and the best Part of the Horses also fell into the Enemy's Hands *. The Count and Commissary with

A. D.
1498.

Florentines
worsted at
San Rego-
lo.

* *Bembo* says there were Two Hundred killed, and One Hundred and Thirty taken, with Seven Standards,

A. D. with no little Hazard saved themselves
 1498. in *San Regolo*, laying the Blame on each
 other, as it commonly happens after a
 Miscarriage of this Nature.

Florentines THE *Florentines* were greatly alarmed
 apply to at this Disaster, as they could not soon
France for recruit, their General in Chief *Rinuc-*
Assistance. *cio* had entirely lost his Reputation, and
 his own Regiment had been stripped.
 In the present Exigence they resolved to
 send for the *Vitelli*, who were in the
 Territory of *Arezzo*; in order to march
 for *Pisa*, and put all their Forces under
 the Command of *Pagolo Vitelli*, but he re-
 fused that Charge till they gave him the
 Title of Captain General. They next
 made their Addresses to the King of
France, humbly beseeching him to send
 Three Hundred Lances into *Tuscany*, in
 Hopes that such a Force, joined to the
 Authority of the royal Protection, would
 remove their imminent Danger ; request-
 ing also that he would fulfil the Agree-
 ment made with the late King for keep-
 ing the *Vitelli* in their common Service,
 by contributing his Proportion of their
 Pay ;

Pay ; and would moreover use his Interest with the *Venetians* to desist from Hostilities. But *Lewis*, who was unwilling to disoblige or give any Cause of Distrust to the *Venetians*, and was resolved not to meddle in the Affairs of *Italy* till he was in Readiness to invade the *Milanese*, put them off with fair Words, which produced no manner of Effect.

IN this Extremity, as their last Resort they had Recourse to the Duke of *Milan*.^{A. D. 1498.} But the Duke wanted no Intreaties, on the contrary was apprehensive lest the *Venetians* should improve this Advantage in such a manner as to render his Aid ineffectual. He thought fit therefore, without Loss of Time, to send a trusty Agent to *Florence*, to inform himself not only of what was necessary for their Defence, but for the entire Reduction of *Pisa*.^{And to the Duke of Milan-}

As there were no Apprehensions from *France* this Year, the whole Attention of the *Italians* was employed on the *Pisan* War, all other Parts of *Italy* enjoying Peace.

A. D. Peace. There had, indeed, been some

1498.

Quarrels between the two Houses of the *Orfini* and *Colonnas*, but the Parties concerned, by their own Prudence and Conduct, got the better of their Enmity and Passions. The Matter of Fact in short

Cause of a War between the Families of *Orfini* and *Colonna*. was this: The *Colonnas* and *Savelli*, to revenge themselves on *Jacopo Conti*, who had possessed himself of *Torre Mattia*, attacked the Castles belonging to the Family of *Conti*, who were then joined by the *Orfini*, as being of the same Party. After several Castles taken on both Sides, they came at last to a pitched Battle at the Foot of *Monticelli* in the Neighbourhood of *Tivoli*, where, after fighting with great Obstinacy and Party Rage for Honour, Interest, and Revenge, the *Orfini*, who

Orfini
routed at
Monticelli

had Two Thousand Foot and Eight Hundred Horse, were beaten out of the Field, and lost all their Colours, and *Carlo Orfini* was taken Prisoner. On the Side of the *Colonnas*, *Antonello Savelli*, an Officer of Reputation, was wounded, and died in a few Days. When the Battle was over, the Pope, pretending not to like such Disturbances in the Neighbourhood of

of *Rome*, offered his Mediation, which ^{A. D.} was accepted by both Parties. But while ^{1498.} his Holiness, with his usual Double-dealing, was amusing them, the *Orsini* assembled another Army, and besieged *Palombara*, the capital Town belonging to the *Savelli*, which the *Colonnas*, who had taken several Forts from the *Conti* after the Battle, were preparing to relieve. At last both Parties being convinced that the Pope, sometimes inclining to the *Colonnas*, at others to the *Orsini*, widened the Breaches, and inflamed their Animosities, with an Intent, after they had weakened one another, to make them both his Prey, came to a Parley, and agreed to have a Meeting at *Tivoli*, where in a few Hours they became Friends, on Condition, that *Carlo Orsini* should be set at Liberty, the Places taken on both Sides restored, and the Dispute about the Territory of *Tagliacozzo* and *Albi* referred to King *Federigo*, who had many Persons of the Family of *Colonna* in his Service.

Peace between the two Families.

WHAT

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1498.

Lodovico
quarrels
with the
Venetians.

WHAT now remained of the War in *Italy* was confined to the City and Territory of *Pisa*. The Duke of *Milan* at first intended only to give the *Florentines* a powerful Succour in Money, and that underhand. But his Resentment against the *Venetians* increasing to such a Height, as to vent itself in haughty Language, and threatening Expressions, he resolved to throw off the Mask at once, and began with denying their Troops a Passage thro' the *Parmesan* and *Pontremoli* in their March to *Pisa*, which obliged them to fetch a Compass by a longer and more difficult Way thro' the Duke of *Ferrara's* Country. He had Interest enough with *Cæsar*, who had dismissed all the Ambassadors of the League but those of the King of *Spain*, on his recalling them, to except those of the *Venetians*. He sent Three Hundred Archers to the *Florentines*, and engaged to pay his Share towards a new Levy of Three Hundred Men at Arms, part of them to be commanded by the Lord of *Piombino*, and the rest under *Giov. Pagolo Baglione*.
He

He lent them at several Times above *A. D.*
 Three Hundred Thousand Ducats, and *1498.*
 was continually repeating his Offers of
 greater Assistance if required. He inter-
 ceded also with the Pope in their Behalf,
 intreating his Holiness to lend a favour-
 able Ear to the humble Applications
 of the *Florentines*. The Pope was con-
 vinced that it could not be for the Papal
 Interest that the *Venetians* should become
 Masters of *Pisa*, and therefore promised
 an Assistance of One Hundred Men at
 Arms, besides Three light Gallies under
 Captain *Villamarina*, which were to
 cruize before *Pisa*, and intercept all Pro-
 visions or Stores carrying thither by Sea.
 But he found Reason to alter his Measures;
 and, after many Excuses for his Delay,
 openly refused to send this Succour, having
 greater Things and more interesting to
 himself in Prospect, for he was now more
 than ever intent on entering into a strict
 Alliance with the King of *France*, from
 whom he had the Vanity to expect nothing
 less than the Kingdom of *Naples* for his
 Son.

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It is the common Frailty of Mankind, when bent on any Project, to amuse themselves with flattering Hopes, and to represent as easy what to a calm and unprejudiced Understanding will appear difficult. It was really Matter of Astonishment that *Alexander*, after a Repulse from an Affinity with the King of *Aragon*, which, ought in reason to have knocked all his Schemes on the Head, should be so little disconcerted, as to find Occasion from that very Repulse to enlarge his Views, and form still greater Projects. Before he took this Resolution of entering into a League with *France*, he had proposed to King *Federigo* a Match between his Son, who was disposed to part with his Cardinal's Hat, and the King's Daughter, with the Principality of *Taranto* for her Dowry. He imagined that if his Son, who was endowed with great natural Parts, should once get Possession of so considerable a Member of the Kingdom, being married to a Royal Daughter, he might, with the Arms and the Pretensions of the Church to that Country, easily dispossess his
Father-

Father-in-Law, who was unprovided of ^{A. D.} Men and Money, and had neither the ^{1498.} Love nor Esteem of many of his Barons.

Lodovico favoured the Pope's Suit, and sent *Marchesino Stampa* to *Rome*, and thence to *Naples*, to sollicit *Federigo*, first with Reasons, and then, if necessary, with Threats, to come into the Motion. That Minister was charged to remonstrate to the King the dangerous Consequence of his Refusal, which would be throwing his Holiness into the Arms of *France*; and endeavour to convince him how weak and imprudent it would appear, when the common Safety lay at Stake, to suffer himself to be biased by *Valentino's* Birth, and, rather than put some Violence on his own Inclinations, to risque the Preservation of his Kingdom. *Federigo* knew how to resist all these Sollicitations: He knew that a Denial might endanger his Throne, but he was also sensible that to give his Daughter in Marriage to the Cardinal of *Valenza*, with the Principality of *Taranto*, was no less hazardous. Therefore of two Dangers he would chuse to encounter that which appeared to him the

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most honourable, and which would not proceed from any Act of his own. This mortifying Denial quite determined the Pope to enter into *French* Measures, and his Fear of offending the *Venetians*, whom he would willingly induce to make the same Step, restrained him from giving any Assistance to the *Florentines*.

BUT the *Florentines* now thought themselves strong enough in the Field, and their Affairs in a promising Way, by the Accession of so good an Ally as the Duke of *Milan*, and under the Conduct of a General of such military Reputation as *Pagolo Vitelli*. They were grown to such a Height of Resolution, and Confidence in their Commander, that no Danger appeared formidable, no Enterprize too difficult. The *Pisans*, besides the numerous Body of their Citizens and Peasants, who were experienced and resolute, had Four Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred Stradiotti, and above Two Thousand Foot Auxiliaries from the *Venetians*, who were unanimously disposed to send them still more Forces if required ;

quired ; for those very Senators who had before so warmly opposed taking the *Pisans* under the Protection of the Republic, since they found themselves embarked in the Cause, now thought it necessary, for the Honour of the Senate, to defend them.

LODOVICO and his new Allies the *Florentines* resolved to augment their Army with such a Number of Troops, as should be sufficient not only to dispossess the *Pisans* of all the fortified Places in the Neighbourhood of *Pisa*, but to frustrate any Attempts from the neighbouring States, to assist the *Pisans*, or at the Solicitations of the *Venetians*, to attack any Part of the Dominions of *Florence*. With this Intent *Lodovico* induced *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, who was in Alliance with him and the *Venetians*, to acknowledge him his sole Ally ; and to lay this new Friend under stronger Obligations, the *Florentines* took his Son *Alessandro* into their Pay. This was an important Step, for *Alessandro* was at the Head of Two Hundred Men at Arms raised by *Lodovico* in concert with

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Bentivoglio declares for Lodovico.

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the *Venetians*, before he had resolved to declare himself. And because the Lord of *Faenza* was under the Protection of the *Venetians*, the *Florentines* hired *Ottaviano Riario*, Lord of *Imola* and *Forli*, with One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, to cover their Territory from any Attack on the Side of *Romagna*. *Ottaviano* followed in every thing the Dictates of his Mother *Caterina Sforza*, who was entirely at the Devotion of *Lodovico*, and the *Florentines* for several Reasons, but particularly because she was privately married to *Giovanni de' Medici*, and she was confident that the Duke of *Milan*, disliking the popular Government in *Florence*, intended to reinstate *Giovanni* and his Brother in that City. *Lodovico* also obtained a Promise from the *Lucchese*, with whom he had great Authority, that they would desist from supplying the *Pisans*, whom they had always favoured; and tho' they did not entirely comply with their Engagement, yet they observed it in a great measure out of Respect to him.

THERE

THERE remained still to manage the *Senese* and the *Genoese*, both inveterate Enemies of the *Florentines*, who were then actually at Variance with these two States ; with one of them on account of *Montepulciano*, and with the other on the Affair of the *Lunigiana*. It was feared that the *Senese*, from an old Grudge, would, as usual, tho' to their own Detriment, supply the Enemies of the *Florentines* with all the Conveniencies their Country would afford : And tho' the *Genoese*, out of antient Emulation, must be conceived averse to the Settlement of the *Venetians* at *Pisa*, yet as there was little Regard ever shewn in *Genoa* to the public Welfare, both *Venetian* and *Pisan* Vessels continued to traffic in their Port for the Benefit that accrued to Particulars, and to the great Advantage of the *Pisans*. By *Lodovico's* Advice the *Florentines* sent Ambassadors to both these States ; but the Treaty with the *Genoese* came to nothing, for that People peremptorily insisted on the Delivery of *Sarzana*, on the sole Consideration of a Promise that the *Pisans* should

A. D. receive no sort of Supplies from the Domi-
1498. nions of *Genoa* ; which Condition the *Flo-*
rentines regarding as attended with a cer-
 tain Loss for a small and even doubtful
 Gain, refused to buy their Friendship at
 so dear a Rate.

Floren-
tines take
the Field.

Surpises
 the *Vene-*
tians,

WHILE these Things were in Agita-
 tion, the *Florentines*, under their new
 Captain General, took the Field, with
 an Army stronger in Horse than Foot ;
 which obliged the *Pisans*, who, since the
 Fight at *San Regolo*, had scowered the
 Country with their Stradiotti without Con-
 troul, to break up their Camp at *Ponte di*
Sacco. *Vitelli* first took *Calcinaia*, and
 while he was expecting some Recruits of
 Infantry, received Intelligence that the
Venetians posted at *Cascina*, under *Marco*
Martinengo kept no Guard nor Discipline,
 he suddenly fell upon them, killed many
 of the Stradiotti, with *Giovanni Gradenico*,
 Captain of Men at Arms, and took *Franco*
 Chief of the Stradiotti, with One Hun-
 dred Horse Prisoners. On this the *Vene-*
tians abandoned *Cascina*, and retired to
Borgo di San Marco, where they waited
 for

for Reinforcements from *Venice*. Pagolo *A. D.*
Vitelli, being now joined by his Foot, 1498.
 made a Feint of attacking *Cascina*; but
 while the *Pisans* were preparing for its
 Defence, he detached Three Thousand
 Men with Orders to post themselves on
 the upper Grounds, and then, with great
 Labour and Difficulty passing his heavy
 Cannon over the Mountains, crossed the
Arno, and invested *Buti*, which was
 taken by Storm the next Day after it be-
 gan to be battered. The General chose
 rather to attack *Buti* than *Pisa*; for con-
 sidering with himself the desperate Obsti-
 nacy of the *Pisans*, their Numbers, the
 Multitude of Peasants in the Town, who
 by long Exercise were become expert Sol-
 diers, together with the *Venetian* Garrison,
 and the Strength of the Walls and Forti-
 fications, he laid aside all thoughts of re-
 ducing *Pisa* by Force. He judged it
 therefore more expedient to weaken the
 Place, by taking in those Forts that lie on
 the Right of the *Arno*, and so intercept all
 Communication with the neighbouring
 States. For this End, after taking *Buti*,
 he erected a Fort on the Hill of *San*

'A. D. *Giovanni della Vena*, and with the same

1498.

Labour as before brought his Cannon before a Fort which the *Pisans* had erected near *Vico*, possessed himself of all the Territory of *Valdecenci*, raised another Fortification at *Pietra Dolorosa* above *Vico Pisano*, to prevent all Passage of Provisions by that Road, and invested the Fortrefs of the *Verrucola*. Count *Rinuccio* had posted himself in *Valdinievole*, to be a Check upon the *Pisans*, and frustrate all Sallies which it was expected they would hazard for preventing the Sieges of *Librafatta* and *Valdiserchio*; yet this did not prevent a Sally of Four Hundred Men, who surprised and cut to Pieces some *Florentine* Foot in the Church of *San Michele*, designed to assist at the Siege of *Verrucola*. *Pagolo* in the mean time made himself Master of the Fort near *Vico*, allowing the Garrison to march out with their Cannon for *Vico Pisano*, and then encamped before *Vico*, where he opened the Trenches, not on the same Side it had been besieged by the *Florentines*, when himself defended it, but that towards

San

San Giovanni della Vena, by which Means he prevented all Succours from *Pisa*. A large Breach being made the Governor surrendered on Condition that the Garrison should march away, and the Inhabitants should be safe in their Persons and Effects. They did not care to hold out to Extremity, because *Vitelli*, when he took *Buti*, ordered Three German Gunners to have their Hands chopped off, besides other Cruelties, to strike a Terror. *Vico* being taken by *Pagolo*, his good Fortune favoured him on another Occasion : For the *Pisans* imagining it would be easy to surprise the Fort *Pietra Dolorosa*, made a furious Attack upon the Place before Break of Day, with Two Hundred light Horse, and some chosen Infantry ; but meeting with longer Resistance than was expected, it happened that in the Heat of Action *Pagolo* was perceived hastening over the Hills to the Relief of the Place. The Assailants then had nothing to do but to make the best of their Way to *Pisa*, in which near *Calci* they fell in with *Vitelozzo* who waited to intercept them, and

Pagolo

A. D.
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A. D. 1498. *Pagolo* coming up, they were totally routed, and many of the Horse, and most part of the Foot killed.

Agreement proposed between the *Venetians* and *Florentines*.

Florentines send Ambassadors to *Venice*.

IN the mean time the *Florentines* received Information from the Duke and others, that the *Venetians* were inclined to make Peace, and that all Differences might be easily accommodated, provided the Republic of *Florence* would consent, as was decent and proper, to treat with the *Venetians* as with a superior Republic, and not as with their Equals. On this Advice *Guido Antonio Vespucci* and *Bernardo Rucellai*, Two Citizens of great Authority, were sent to *Venice* to inform themselves of the Senate's real Intentions. This Application would have been made much sooner, had not the *Florentines* stood in fear of disobliging King *Charles*, and were also conscious to themselves that while they were visibly too weak to subdue *Pisa*, all Intreaties not enforced by the Authority of some signal Action are vain and fruitless. But now having a powerful Force in the Field, and the
Duke

Duke of *Milan* having openly declared against the *Venetians*, they began to entertain Hopes of finding out some Expedient for an Honourable Agreement. A. D. 1498.

THE Ambassadors were received very honourably, and introduced to the Doge and College; where after making Excuses in the Name of their Republic for sending no sooner, “ which, they said, was owing to the Iniquity of the Times, and the Circumstances of their City, they, in plain Terms, desired them to desist from the Defence of *Pisa*, which they had Reason to expect, since the *Florentine* Republic had given no just Cause of Offence, and the *Venetian* Senate was famous for doing Justice, which was the Basis of all Virtues, and ought to be preferred to any other Consideration in Government.” The Doge answered, “ that it was true the *Florentines* had not injured them, and that the *Venetians* had not undertaken the Defence of *Pisa*, with an Intent to offend the *Florentines*, but merely because they had joined with the *French*,

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French, and differed in their Politics from all the rest of the *Italian* Potentates. The common Safety, therefore, had engaged the Allies to promise the *Pisans* their Assistance. That if others were regardless of their Word, they would not, against the known Rule of their Republic, follow so vile an Example. But if they had any thing to offer by which the Freedom of the *Pisans* might be preserved, they were ready to convince the World, that no private Interest or Ambition could induce them to persevere in their Hostilities against the *Florentines*." After this it was for several Days debated, in what Manner both Parties might be satisfied; but neither the Ambassadors nor the Senate were willing to make their Proposals. It was agreed that the *Spanish* Ambassadors, who wished well to both, should be admitted into their Councils. He was of Opinion that the *Pisans* might return under the *Florentine* Dominion, not as Subjects, but as Confederates, or rather under their Protection, and enjoy the same Charter and Privileges as had been allowed to the City of *Pistoia*; which would be a sort of Medium

Medium between Slavery and Liberty. *A. D.*
 The *Venetians* objected that no Traces of ^{1498.}
 Liberty could remain in a City, where
 the Fortifications and Administration of
 Justice were in the Hands of another
 Power. Thus the Ambassadors finding
 no Hopes of succeeding quitted *Venice*, ^{Ambassy} ^{unsuccess-}
 fully persuaded that the *Venetians* would ^{ful.}
 never, unless forced, abandon *Pisa*, whi-
 ther they were continually sending Re-
 cruits.

THE Senate had not much to fear
 this Year from the *Florentines*, who had
 not taken the Field early in the Spring,
 and the Season being far advanced, could
 not keep the Field much longer on ac-
 count of the Floods, to which the Coun-
 try about *Pisa* is, by its low Situation,
 very subject. They ordered a new Levy
 of Five Hundred Men at Arms, to be
 commanded by the Duke of *Urbino*, to
 whom they gave the Title of Governor,
 and who, pursuant to some Intelligence,
 was to make a Diversion by attacking the
Florentines on a different Quarter. They
 purposed also to serve themselves of *Piero*
de'

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de' Medici, on whose account they levied Two Hundred Men at Arms under *Carlo Orsini* and *Bartolomeo Alviano*. Nor were they without Hopes of inducing *Bentivoglio* to invade their Country on the Side of the *Bolognese*. For the Duke of *Milan*, it seems, was dissatisfied with him because his Son *Annibale Bentivoglio* had preferred the *Venetian* Service before the Duke's. And this new Offence revived the Memory of former Injuries, which he pretended he had received from him. For when *Ferdinando* Duke of *Calabria* marched into *Romagna*, *Bentivoglio* took that Opportunity to seize on some Castles of the *Milanese*, which, he said, belonged to his Son *Alessandro* by Right of Dowry. But by the Mediation of the *Florentines* the Castles were restored to *Lodovico*, which frustrated the *Venetians* in their Hopes of Assistance from *Bentivoglio*. They applied next to the *Senese*, whom they had Reason to think not averse to their Measures; for, besides the natural Disposition of that People to take up Arms against the *Florentines*, they happened to be in a great Ferment at that Time on the
fol-

following Occasion. The Duke of *Urbino*, and the *Orsini* with Two Thousand Foot and Four Hundred Stradiotti, had halted at *La Fratta* in the Territory of *Perugia*, from whence they sent a Message to the Government of *Siena* to desire a Passage through their Territory. *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who by his superior Parts and Management had raised himself to the supreme Dignity in that Republic, was for granting a Passage; but *Nicoló Borgheſe*, his Father-in-Law, with the Family of the *Belanti* opposed it, merely in Contradiſtion to *Pandolfo*, of whose Power they were jealous. They pleaded that to grant a Truce to the *Florentines*, as *Pandolfo* and the Duke of *Milan* would persuade them, was only giving them an Opportunity of first ſubjecting *Piſa*, and then turning with their whole Force againſt *Siena*. On the contrary, the Republic, like a wiſe State, ought to improve the preſent Juncture, and not enter into any Treaty that was not like to produce a ſolid Peace, in which *Montepulciano* ſhould be yielded to the *Senefe*. They were conſcious, that the Government of

Florence

A. D.
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Florence would never make this Concession, and expected that the *Venetians*, for so signal a Service, would assist them in diminishing *Pandolfo's* Authority. As for *Pandolfo*, he found great Difficulty in gaining his Point, for the Populace had a natural Antipathy to the *Florentines*, and it was urged, with a plausible Air, that they had a fair Opportunity now given them of obliging the *Florentines* under their present Distress to give up *Montepulciano*. These Reasons seemed to outweigh those of *Pandolfo*, who, on his Side, represented, besides the common Calamities of War, the Danger of permitting the *Venetians* to have a Footing in *Tuscany*. He insisted on this Point with much Warmth, and told the People that they had no Occasion to look out for foreign Examples, it being fresh in the Memory of many then present, that in the Year 1578, when they joined *Ferdinando* King of *Naples* against the *Florentines* they were on the Point of being enslaved by that Prince, which nothing could have prevented, had not *Mahomet* the *Ottoman* Emperor, by taking *Otranto*
in

in the Kingdom of *Naples*, obliged the King to recall his Son *Alfonso* with his Forces from *Siena*. In their own History they might also find the Time when, out of Resentment to the *Florentines* on account of this very *Montepulciano*, they put the State under the Subjection of Count *Vertue*, to induce him to take up Arms against that Republic. These Arguments, how just soever, were not powerful enough to bring the People into *Pandolfo's* Sentiments. He found himself therefore under a Necessity to call to his Assistance many of his Friends out of the Country, by whose Concurrence having secured the public Peace and himself from Tumults, he made a Five Year's Truce with the *Florentines*, who in return, paying a greater Regard to their Fear of the present Danger than to the Dignity of the State, obliged themselves to destroy part of the Bridge of *Valiano*, together with the Redoubt, which had given so much Umbrage to the *Senese*, who were permitted to erect what Forts they pleased between *Chiane* and *Montepulciano*. This Treaty raised *Pandolfo's* Power and Authority

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thority to such a Height, as enabled him not long after to get his Father-in-Law condemned to die for ardently opposing his Measures; which struck such a Terror into the Party, that they quietly suffered him to rule the State in as absolute a Manner as he pleased.

THE *Venetians* being thus disappointed at *Siena*, and not able to obtain a Passage for their Troops through the Territory of *Perugia*, resolved to attack the *Florentines* by the Way of *Romagna*, where they expected, that, by Means of *Piero de' Medici's* Interest, it would be easy to reduce the Towns in the *Appenines*. For this Purpose they obtained Leave of the petty Lord of *Faenza* to march a Body of Troops through the Valley of *Lanione*, accompanied by *Piero* and *Giuliano de' Medici*, who took Possession of *Marradi*, a Town on the *Appenines* facing *Romagna*, without Opposition; for *Dionigi di Naldo*, a Gentleman whose Estate lay in the Valleys between those Hills, who had Orders to assemble the Peasants, and to raise Three Hundred Soldiers, had so few Troops with

with him, that he thought fit to quit the Place and retire. The *Venetians* then laid Siege to *Castiglione*, a Fort on an Eminence above *Marradi*, and were in Hopes of taking it, for there was a Scarcity of Provisions and Water in the Place, and the Conquest of it would have opened them a Passage into *Mugello*, a Territory contiguous to *Florence*. But the Dearth of Provisions was happily compensated by the Resolution of the Governor, and the Want of Water by Providence; for there fell such a Quantity of Rain, that in one Night all the Cisterns and Vessels were filled.

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IN the mean time Count *Rinuccio*, and the Lord of *Piombino*, with other Generals, marched through *Mugello* to the Relief of the Fort, and obliged the *Venetians* to retire with Precipitation; for as they had expected but little Resistance in those Parts, they were but ill provided to look the Enemy in the Face. As soon as the Duke of *Milan* received Intelligence of this Interruption, he ordered Count *Gajazzo*, who

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was at *Cotignuola* with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and One Thousand Foot, and *Fracassa*, who was arrived from *Forli* with One Hundred Men at Arms, to follow the Invaders. But these, to avoid the Danger of being hemmed in between two Armies, turned off and joined the Duke of *Urbino*, who had marched from *Perugia*, and was encamped with the rest of the *Venetian* Forces between *Ravenna* and *Forli*, with little Hopes of undertaking any thing of Consequence. For, besides the *Florentine* Troops in *Romagna*, the Duke of *Milan* had Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Hundred Archers in that Territory, exclusive of One Thousand Foot appointed to guard the important Passes of *Forli* and *Imola*.

*Vitelli's*Exploits in
the *Pisan*.

DURING these Transactions *Pagolo Vitelli*, having made himself Master of *Vico Pisano*, rested there some Days; but finding Provisions grow short, and being desirous of straitening more and more the *Pisans*, he resolved on the Siege of *Librafatta*. And in order to
avoid

avoid the Inconveniences attending the March of an Army incumbered with Artillery and heavy Baggage, he chose to avoid the beaten Road that leads over the Hills to the Plains of *Pisa*, as also another Road, that goes round the Hills from the Plains of *Pisa* to *Librafatta*; and, with the Help of a vast Number of Pioneers, made a new Way over the Mountains, by which he marched, taking in by the Way a Redoubt the *Pisans* had erected on *Monte Maggiore*, and descended into the Plain of *Librafatta* unmolested. The next Day without much Difficulty he possessed himself of *Potito* and *Castel Vecchio*, two Forts near one another, and at a small Distance from the Town; on this last Fort, and some other Places of Advantage, he planted his Artillery, in Hopes that the Walls being by this Means battered above and below, the Breaches might be mounted, and the Place taken the next Day. But in the Night an Arch of the Wall fell down, and filled up the Breach to the Height of Four Braces; so that *Vitelli*

R 3 having

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having in vain attempted to scale the Walls for Three Days successively, began to doubt of Success, and the more because the Besiegers were greatly annoyed by a large Piece of Cannon that scoured their Trenches. But *Pagolo's* Courage and Industry on this Occasion were highly indebted to Fortune, without whose Favour good Generals often find their most promising Hopes frustrated; for a lucky Shot from the Camp dismounted the Enemy's murdering Piece of Cannon, killed one of their best Gunners, and made its Way through the Rampart. This Accident so terrified the Besieged, who besides could not mount the Wall without great Danger from the Cannon on *Castel Vecchio*, that they capitulated the Fourth Day, and surrendered the Town, and soon after the Castle when the Cannon began to play.

LIBRAFATTA being taken, *Pagolo* set his Men at Work in erecting Forts on the neighbouring Hills, particularly a large and strong Fort at *Santa Maria in Castello*, which from the Mount on which it was seated

seated was called *Ventura* ; from this *A. D.*
 Fort he made Excursions all over the *1498*
 Country. It is reported that on this very
 Spot of Ground, *Castruccio* of *Lucca*, a
 famous Commander, formerly built a
 Castle, by means of which, and of *Libra-*
fatta, he intercepted all Convoys of Pro-
 visions coming to *Pisa* from *Lucca* and
Pietra Santa.

THE *Venetians*, always attentive on
 every thing that might conduce to the
 Preservation of *Pisa*, thought of making
 an Advantage of some Discontent and
 Uneasiness of the Marquis of *Mantoua*,
 who was in the Duke of *Milan's* Service,
 and was dissatisfied at his being refused
 the Title of Captain General, which *Lo-*
dovico did not think fit to grant, lest it
 should offend *Giovanni Galeazzo da San-*
severino, on whom he had conferred that
 Honour, more out of personal Regard,
 than for true Merit. But he made the
 Marquis a Promise that in Three Months
 Time he would procure him the Title of
 Captain General, either from the King of
 the *Romans*, or from the Pope, or from

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the King of *Naples*, or at least from the *Florentines*. The Three Months being elapsed, and nothing done in his Favour, and his Pay being also in Arrear, the Marquis applied himself to the *Venetians*, offering to enter again into their Service: They accepted this Offer of the Marquis, and agreed to send him to *Pisa* at the Head of Three Hundred Men at Arms. *Lodovico* being apprised of this Negotiation, with *Galeazzo's* Consent, declared him Captain General both of his own and *Cæsar's* Forces. But the Marquis had already been at *Venice*, and, notwithstanding the Opposition made by the *Florentines*, had accepted of the Commission, had received a Sum of Money to enable him to march to the Assistance of the *Pisans*, and was returned to *Mantoua* to put himself in Readiness. And had the *Venetians* been as expeditious in dispatching as they were in inlisting him, they might have retained him, and secured him in their Service: But they proceeded slowly, on account of an Offer that was made them by some old Friends of the *Medici*, who engaged to deliver the Castle of *Bibbiena* in

in the *Casentino* into their Hands, and representing the Difficulties of sending Reinforcements to *Pisa*, inclined the Senate to conclude it more expedient to set their Thoughts on making Diversions than on sending Succours. The Marquis, provoked at this Delay, returned into *Lodovico's* Service with Three Hundred Men at Arms and One Hundred light Horse, and was complimented with the Title of Captain General of the Imperial and *Milaneſe* Forces. As for the Money he had received of the *Venetians*, he pretended it was his Due upon old Arrears.

THE Plot concerning *Bibbiena* was not carried on ſo ſecretly but that the *Florentines* got Notice of it, and having been informed of all the Particulars from *Bologna*, immediately deputed a Commiſſary to *Bibbiena* to prevent the Danger. But the moſt careful and prudent Deſigns are rendered vain and uſeleſs, when negligently or imprudently conducted. The Commiſſary indeed immediately ſecured the moſt ſuſpected, but was afterwards weak enough
to

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to release them on the bare Credit of their own Affeверations ; and took so little Precaution in other Respects, that he facilitated the Measures of the Disaffected. *Alviano*, who was intrusted with the Execution of the Plot, dispatched some of his Horsemen, accoutred like Travelers, who riding all Night arrived by Break of Day at *Bibbiena*, and seized on a Gate of the Town without Opposition, for the Commissary had placed no Guard, nor so much as given Orders, as in suspicious Times he ought, not to open the Gates so early as usual. This first Party was soon followed by successive Detachments of Horse, who gave out on the Road, that they belonged to *Vitelli*. Their Friends in the Town had now no more to do but to declare themselves openly with all Security, and thus was the Place taken without a Blow *. *Alviano* arrived the same Day and tho' his Force was but small,

Bibbiena
taken by
Stratagem

* *Bembo* writes that the *Venetians* passed for *Florentines* come to reinforce the Garrison, by which Stratagem they had before got Possession of the famous Monastery of *Camaldoli*. *Buonocorsi* says that *Piero de' Medici* and *Alviano* sent a Gentleman with a Letter signed with Ten coun-

small, yet as he was never wanting to ^{A. D.} push his good Fortune with all possible ^{1498.} Celerity, he immediately invested *Poppi*, the strongest Fortrefs in the Vale of *Bibbiena*; but finding it well provided, he thought fit to draw off, and take Possession of all the little Places in the Neighbourhood of *Bibbiena*, tho' of no great Importance. The River *Arno* runs thro' the *Casentino*, which is a narrow, rocky, and barren Country, at the Foot of the *Appennines*, at that Time covered with Snow, as it was the Beginning of Winter; but it was a Pass that, if *Poppi* had been taken, would have commanded the Road to *Florence*, and lay no less convenient for a Passage into the rich and fertile Territories of *Arezzo*, and *Valdarno*, which are full of Towns and Villages, and of great Importance to the *Florentines*, who were by no Means wanting to themselves in so dangerous a Juncture, but made Provision of all Things necessary for Defence in every

counterfeit Names of Magistrates of *Florence*, ordering Quarters to be provided for Eighty Horse on their March thither commanded by *Giulio Vitelli*, by which Means *Alviano* with One Hundred Horse was admitted into the Town instead of *Vitelli*.

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every Place that required it. And by keeping good Intelligence, they had the good Fortune to discover and suppress a Conspiracy forming against them at *Arezzo*, and immediately sent Orders to Count *Rinuccio*, who was in the *Pisan*, to march and possess himself of the Passes between *Valdibagno* and *La Pieve San Stefano*, in order to prevent the *Venetians* from pouring more Troops into the *Casentino*. But all their Precaution could not hinder the Duke of *Urbino*, *Carlo Orsini*, and other Generals, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Six Thousand Foot, and some German Mercenaries, from penetrating into that Country, and intirely subjecting the same, except the Fortress of *Poppi*, which was a second Time attempted in vain.

Florentine.
Forces
march a-
gainst the
Duke.

THIS unexpected Irruption put the *Florentines* under a Necessity of recalling *Pagolo Vitelli* with his Forces from the *Pisan*, which was what the *Venetians* chiefly had in View by making this Diversion. That General leaving sufficient Garrisons in Fort *Ventura* and other important

portant Places, marched into the *Casentino*, and obliged the Enemy to quit the Neighbourhood of *Prato Vecchio*, where they had begun to entrench themselves, and being afterwards joined by *Fracassa* with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Hundred Foot from the Duke of *Milan*, reduced them to great Straits *. The *Venetians* were dispersed in small Bodies, for Conveniency of Quarters, and were besides obliged to post several Corps in the Passes of *Vernia*, *Chiusi*, and *Montalone*, situate on the Tops of the *Appenines*, to secure themselves a Retreat. They had now little Hopes left of making any Progress here or elsewhere, for *Rinuccio* with Two Hundred Lances had thrown himself into *Arezzo*, and the Peasants were by no Means their Friends, being disaffected to the Family of the *Medici*, and besides their Horses wanted Forage in that hilly Country. For these Reasons it was thought fit to send back the Artillery with Part of the heavy Baggage, and draw

* *Bembo* tells us that *Vitelli* gave a general Assault to *Pisa* before he went off.

A. D. 1498. to draw their Quarters as close as the Situation of the Country would permit.

VITELLI had determined to proceed with Caution, and to attempt nothing with Precipitation, as he was naturally wary and patient. To obtain a considerable Advantage, he never regarded Length of Time or Hardship of Fatigue. He would not, to save Expences, venture on an Undertaking without an abundant Supply of all Necessaries ; neither would he, for the Glory of obtaining an easy and speedy Victory, rashly endanger his Army, and the Success of his Enterprize. With this Disposition he deferred the Attack of the strong Places in the *Casentino* till he had made himself Master of the weakest, and secured the Passes of the *Appennines*, with Guards, Forts, and other Incumbrances, by spoiling the Roads, and felling Trees across them, by which means the Enemy would not only be prevented from receiving fresh Supplies, but be disabled from giving Assistance to each other from their different Quarters. In this manner he hoped to distress them,

them, not doubting but their chief ^{A. D.} Strength, which lay in and about *Bib-* ^{1498.} *biena*, would soon be put to Hardships for want of Provisions and Forage. With this View he took Possession of several small Places, insignificant in themselves, but serviceable to his Purposes, and afterwards surpris'd several Men at Arms in their Quarters about *Bibbiena*. As soon as he received Intelligence that the *Ven-* *tians* were assembling a Body of Men on the other Side of the Mountains, he possess'd himself of the Places about Mount *Verna*, and blocked up all the Passes, and spoiled the Roads, to prevent their marching to the Succour of their Troops on this Side the Hills in the *Casentino*, by which Means the Enemy's Forces in that Country were greatly distressed, Numbers deserted, and many others fell into the Hands of the Peasants in that rough and difficult Country, and were stripp'd and plundered.

Tho' the *Florentine* Ambassadors had ^{*Ven*} left *Venice* without Success, another ^{*tians*} ^{sick of the} Negotiation was set on Foot in *Ferrara*, ^{War.}
at

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at the Sollicitations of the *Venetians*. For many of the graver Senators began to be tired of a War that was maintained at so vast an Expence, and attended with such Difficulties ; and as they had now no Prospect of making any farther Progress in the *Casentino*, they grew more and more desirous of relinquishing their vexatious Engagements with *Pisa*, provided they could extricate themselves with Honour.

King of
France
treats with
the *Ven-*
tians.

ALL this while the King of *France* was making Preparations to invade the *Milaneſe* the following Year, and expected to be joined by the *Venetians*, the mortal Enemies of *Lodovico*. For this End he entered into a Treaty of ſtrict Alliance with the Republic. But he treated with more Freedom and Confidence of a firm Union with the Pope ; who, tho' diſappointed of an Alliance with *Federigo* by his rejecting the Match propoſed by his Holineſs, ſtill retained his ambitious Views towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, and put all his Truſt in the King for obtaining, through his Means, *Federigo's* Daughter
Charlotta,

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Charlotta, who was brought up at the *A. D.*
French Court, for his Son Cardinal *Valenza*. 1498.

Lewis, at whose Disposal the Princess and with
 seemed to be, had given the Pope En- the Pope.

couragement to hope that his Desire
 would be gratified. On this Prospect the
 Cardinal came one Morning into the
 Consistory, and humbly intreated his Holiness
 and their Eminences the Cardinals
 for Leave to divest himself of his Eccle-
 siastic Habit and Dignity, and to follow
 that Profession to which he seemed or-
 dained by Fate. On giving their Con-
 sent, he clothed himself in secular Ap-
 parel, and prepared for his Journey to
France. The Pope had already promised

to send the King a Bull for his Divorce, Articles
 and *Lewis* in return had obliged himself, of the
 as soon as he should have conquered Treaty.
 the Dutchy of *Milan*, to assist him in
 reducing to the Obedience of the Apostolic
 See the Cities possessed by the Vicars in
Romagna, and to pay him immediately
 Thirty Thousand Ducats, which his pre-
 sent Exigencies required. This Sum, he
 pretended, was no more than what was
 necessary for the King's Interest, since he

A. D. 1498. was obliged to keep an extraordinary Guard to defend himself from Conspiracies, which he expected would be formed against him on Account of his Union with *France*. In the Execution of this Treaty the King began with paying the Money, and the Pope committed the Affair of the Divorce to his Nuncio the Bishop of *Ceuta*, and to the Archbishops of *Paris* and *Rouen*. The Queen at first pleaded in Court by her Counsel, but finding she could not confide in her Judges, and that she must at last be obliged to submit to the King's Power, she withdrew her Plea, and gave up the Cause, agreeing to accept of the Revenues of the Dutchy of *Berry* for her Maintenance, with an Addition of Thirty Thousand Livres Yearly. The Sentence of Divorce was pronounced by the Judges, and nothing now remained for the Solemnization of the new Marriage, but the Dispensation to be brought by *Cæsar Borgia*, who, from Cardinal and Archbishop of *Valenza*, now became a Soldier, and Duke *Valentino*, for the King had made him a Captain of One Hundred Lances, with

Lewis
divorced.

with a Salary of Twenty Thousand Livres, and gave him the City of *Valence* in *Dauphiné*, with the Title of Duke, and a Revenue of Twenty Thousand Livres more*. The Duke embarked at *Ostia* on board a Squadron the King had sent thither for that Purpose, and arrived at Court the latter End of the Year with great Pomp and Magnificence, where he was received by the King with wonderful Marks of Esteem. He brought with him a Cardinal's Hat for *George d'Amboise*, who had constantly attended the King both in his good and bad Fortune, and had a great Share in his Confidence. But *Valentino's* first Step at Court was by no means satisfactory. He pretended that he had not brought with him the Bull of Dispensation, being thus instructed by his Father, who imagined that the King's Eagerness would forward his Designs, and that he would be sooner induced to gratify him with the Expectation than with the Remembrance of a Benefit. But the Bishop of *Ceuta*, under a Promise of

Archbp.
of *Rouen*
made a
Cardinal.

* *Valence*, a City in *Dauphiny*, is the Capital of the *Valentinois*, and was erected into a Dutchy for *Cæsar Borgia*.

A. D. Secrecy, revealed the whole Mystery.

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Wherefore the King being well satisfied in his Conscience of the Expedition of the Bull, made no farther Scruple, but went to Bed to his new Bride*. The Duke then thought fit to produce the Bull, but being informed how he had been betrayed by the Bishop, he took care afterwards to have him dispatched by Poison.

Lewis concludes a Peace with Spain

THE King was now very sollicitous to prevent Disturbances from the neighbouring Princes. He concluded a Peace with the King of *Spain*, and that Monarch resolving to interfere no more in the Affairs of *Italy*, recalled all his Ambassadors from that Country, excepting one at *Rome*, and ordered *Gonsalvo* and his Forces to return into *Spain*, yielding to *Federigo* those Places in the Province of *Calabria* which he had hitherto detained.

BUT

* The Wife from whom *Lewis* was divorced was *Giovanna*, Sister to *Charles VIII.* a crooked Lady. His new Wife was *Anne* Dutches of *Bretany*, Widow of *Charles VIII.*

BUT *Lewis* found it more difficult to accommodate Matters with the King of the *Romans*, who took Occasion from some Tumults arising in *Burgundy*, to enter that Country; for which Purpose he was furnished by *Lodovico* with a considerable Sum of Money, on a Presumption that a War with *Cæsar* would prevent the *Italian* Expedition, or if a Peace was concluded that he should be comprehended in the Treaty, as *Maximilian* had promised him. But after some Time spent in negotiating the King signed a Treaty with the Archduke, by which he restored to him the Towns he possessed in the Province of *Artois*. The King of the *Romans* was so well satisfied with this Peace, so advantageous to his Son, that he agreed to a Truce for several Months, without any Mention of *Lodovico*, with whom he pretended to be dissatisfied, for not continuing to comply with his exorbitant Demands of Money.

THE King of *France* also confirmed the Peace his Predecessor had made with

A. D. *England*, and having thus taken all Pre-
 1498. cautions for the Security of his Dominions,
 Lewis he rejected all the Overtures made him by
 confirms the Duke of *Milan*, who had corrupted
 the Peace several of the Courtiers, and tried all
 with Eng- Methods to get both *Venetians* and *Flo-*
 land. *rentines* into his Interest. And that *Pisa*
 might be no Bar to his Designs, he pressed
 the *Venetians* to deposit the same in his
 Hands ; and to induce the *Florentines* not
 to raise Objections, he underhand promised
 to restore it to them after a short Time *.
 This Treaty, which was full of Difficul-
 ties, and entered into with different Views
 and Interest, was for several Months
 variously conducted. For the *Florentines*
 in the Case under Consideration must have
 entered into an Alliance with *France*, and
 as it was doubted whether *Lewis* was a
 more religious Observer of his Treaties
 than his Predecessor had been, the Go-
 vernment could not agree among them-
 selves.

* The *Florentines* agreed to have *Pisa* deposited in
 the King's Hands, but used their Endeavours to have it
 deposited in the Hands of *Pagolo Vitelli*, the King's
 Friend, or with the College of Cardinals, who should be
 impowered to deliver it without the Pope's Consent.
Buonocorsi.

selves. Thus the City, agitated between ^{A. D. 1498.} the Ambition of the chief Citizens and the Licentiousness of the popular Government, and at the same Time engaged with the Duke of *Milan* on account of *Pisa*, was so divided, that it was with great Difficulty that any thing of Moment could be settled, while some of the great Men wished the Downfal of the Duke of *Milan* by the Hands of the *French*, and others were as much in his Interest.

THE *Venetians*, how much soever in-^{Venetians}clined to enter into an Alliance with *France*,^{against the} were determined not to yield to the Depo-^{Deposite.}site, for they expected better Terms, both as to the Reimbursement of their Expences, and with respect to their Honour, from the Treaty at *Ferrara*; *Lodovico* chose also to have this Matter rather settled by the Duke of *Ferrara*, lest the depositing of *Pisa* might be a Means of uniting the *Venetians* and *Florentines* with *France*. He was not without Hopes also that if Affairs were once determined by the *Italians* themselves, the *Venetians* might be induced to give over all Thoughts

A. D. 1498. of attempting any thing to his Prejudice. But these were the very Reasons why *Lewis* did not approve the Treaty of *Ferrara*; and the Pope, always on the Watch to take Advantage of the Misfortunes of others, did his Endeavours to weaken and disturb it. For as his Authority was very great with the King in all Matters relating to *Italy*, he imagined that if the Treaty concerning the Deposite made any Progress, he might have a Share in the Management.

It was now under Deliberation at *Venice*, whether, in Case the *French* should give up the Point of the Deposite, which they were resolved never to comply with, they should join the *French* against the Duke of *Milan*, as they were earnestly solicited, and moreover tempted with an Offer of *Cremona*, and the whole *Ghiaradda*. This Acquisition and Enlargement of Dominion was univeasally liked, and elligible in itself, but the Conditions on which it was to be obtained deserved the most serious Consideration, as it appeared

peared too dangerous to the Republic, to suffer the *French* Power to grow to an ^{A. D. 1498.} extravagant Height in *Italy*. A Council of the Pregati, which supplies the Place of the Senate, was summoned, where after long Debates from time to time, on the Day appointed for coming to a final Resolution, *Antonio Grimano*, a Senator of great Authority, spoke as follows.

“ WHEN I consider, illustrious Senators, the immense Favours *Lodovico* has ^{*Grimano's* Speech.} received from our Republic, which in these later Years hath often preserved his Dominions, and on the other Hand his vile Ingratitude, and the Injuries he has done us in order to oblige us to abandon the Defence of *Pisa*, to which he himself had encouraged and incited us, I don't in the least doubt but that it is the general Sentiment of this illustrious Body, that we ought to take a signal Revenge. For what Infamy can be greater than to be passive under Affronts, which would render us contemptible in the Eyes of all the World. We should be thought dege-

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who when provoked but by slight Injuries,
never refused to undergo any Danger to
preserve the Dignity of the *Venetian*
Name. For the Deliberations of Repu-
blicas require no mean and private Consi-
derations, or which tend only to Profit,
but it is necessary that they should aspire
to more noble Ends, by which they may
increase their Glory and Reputation, which
are easily lost when they give Occasion to
think that we want Spirit to resent Affronts,
or Courage to revenge them. But these
are both necessary at present, not only for
the Pleasure and Sweetness attending a
just Vengeance, but that the Punishment
of the Offender may serve as an Example
to deter others from giving the like Provo-
cation. In such a Conduct we shall con-
sult both our Honour and Utility, for
generous Resolutions produce Glory and
Profit. By suffering one Inconveniency
many greater are often prevented, and
one short Trouble may free us from a
Train of others. But if we consider the
Situation of Affairs in *Italy*, the Disposi-
tion of several Powers to molest us, and
the

the Snares and mischievous Devices of *A. D.*
Lodovico Sforza, we must be constrained ^{1498.}
to own that Necessity more than any other
Consideration ought to influence us in
our present Debate. For the Duke of
Milan, incited by his natural Ambition,
and his Hatred to this most excellent
Senate, not only makes it his perpetual
Study to set all *Italy*, with the King of
the *Romans*, and the whole *Germanic*
Body, against us, but has even com-
menced a Treaty with the *Turks* for the
same vile Purpose of annoying us. You
are all sensible that it is through his
Means that we meet with such Difficul-
ties, as almost render us incapable of sup-
porting the *Pisans*, or prosecuting the
War in the *Casentino*, which if continued
becomes dangerous, and if abandoned
shameful, unless we can find some other
Way to retrieve our sinking Reputation,
the Decay of which would elate the
Spirits, and gratify the Malice of those
who seek our Ruin. All the World
knows how much easier it is to depress
such as appear to be on the Decline, than
those who, by their exalted Station, seem
placed

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placed above the Reach of Envy. You would soon be convinced of this Truth, illustrious Senators, by seeing the Peace of this flourishing State destroyed, and the Noise of War and Tumults would at this Instant alarm our Fears, were not *Lodovico* kept in suspense by his Apprehensions of our joining with the *French*. But should we refuse their Offers, these Apprehensions would soon be at an End: For without our Assistance the King would not undertake this Expedition, and then possibly by the Artifices of *Lodovico*, or the Corruption of the *French* Ministry, he might be drawn into a Composition with the Duke of *Milan* to our Cost and Damage. In this Case therefore if we have the Good of the Republic at Heart, and are zealous to maintain its antient Dignity and Glory, we must resolve with one Consent to join with *France*, and the more heartily as it appears to be the best Expedient for avoiding the Danger that threatens us. And I think we ought to congratulate ourselves on the good Fortune of this State, which has inclined a mighty King voluntarily to intreat from us what
our

our Interest and Safety should move us to implore from him ; and all this on such honourable Conditions, and enforced with such advantageous Offers, as may render this illustrious Body capable of forming hereafter some greater and nobler Designs. Nor have we any Reason to doubt of Success, for where can *Lodovico* seek an Asylum, whither can he fly for Refuge, when hunted and surrounded by two such mighty Powers? The only Objection of which I am aware is, the Danger that may be imagined to threaten our Republic from the Possession of *Milan* by the *French*. But even this Objection will lose much of its Force, if it be considered that in such a Posture of Affairs, many Circumstances would appear in our Favour, which are now visibly against us. For it is not to be doubted but such an Increase of Power in the *French* would alarm all *Italy*, and provoke the Resentments of the King of the *Romans* and the *Germanic* Body, who will by no means suffer so noble a Member of the Empire to become a Province to *France*. The Consequence of this must be, that those very States which now fill

us

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1498. us with Apprehensions of their confederating with the Duke of *Milan* against us, would then, for their own Interest, appear in our Defence. And such is the universal Reputation of our Power, so current the Fame of our Riches, and; what is still more respectable, such is the confirmed Opinion of our Union and Constancy in the Preservation of our Dominions, illustrated by so many Examples, that the King of *France* will not venture to attack us, but in Conjunction with other Powers, and especially the King of the *Romans*; a Confederacy so ill suited, and attended with so many Difficulties, that it would be vain for him to expect it, or for us to fear it. Nor is it to be thought that the Peace which he is now endeavouring to settle with his Neighbours, will be parmanent; for, alas! Envy, Umbrage, and Fears of his Increase of Power, will awaken and reanimate all those who had before found Matter for Dispute or Emulation. It is a general Observation that the *French* are more resolute in acquiring than prudent in preserving, and how soon they become
hateful

hateful to their new Subjects by their ^{A. D.} insolent Behaviour. For which Reason, ^{1498.} should they conquer *Milan*, they will be rather under a Necessity of attending to its Preservation, than find Leisure to enter on other Projects. For a new Conquest, not well settled, or imprudently governed, rather diminishes than increases the Power of the Conqueror. And have we not a recent and convincing Proof of this Truth in the Management of the late King? How did he see all the Love and Fondness of the *Neapolitans*, who had invited his Presence, and received him with open Arms, all of a sudden converted into Extremity of Hatred and Aversion! The Danger therefore to be apprehended from a *French* Victory in Time to come, is not of such a Nature, that to avoid it we should chuse to remain in present and certain Danger. To refuse, for the sake of future and uncertain Losses, so rich and commodious a Part of the *Milaneses*, could be imputed only to a Want of Resolution, or a kind of Pusillanimity, despicable in private Life, but much more in a Republic, which, excepting the *Roman*,
is

A. D. 1498. is the most glorious and powerful that ever existed on Earth. Opportunities like this are rare and transient, and it is the Part of Prudence and a generous Resolution to lay Hold of them, as on the contrary it would be Folly and Meanness of Spirit to reject them. Wisdom that is over curious, and too nicely ponders Events, is often blameable ; for human Affairs are so subject to Vicissitudes, that the Success of an Enterprize rarely answers the End of the wisest Projectors ; and that Person who dares not embrace a present Good for fear of a dubious and distant Evil, will in vain repent his lost Opportunity of acquiring Wealth and Glory, out of Fear of an approaching Danger, which he found afterwards vanished. These are the Reasons which induce me to give my Opinion for entering into an Alliance against the Duke of *Milan*. It is, in my Judgment, highly conducive to our present Safety and Dignity, and is attended with such an Acquisition as at any other Time we should spare neither Trouble nor Expence to obtain ; not only for the Importance of the

the Thing itself, but as it opens a Door
 for extending our Views, and making
 further Acquisitions, to the wonderful
 Augmentation of the Glory and Empire
 of this most powerful Republic.”

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THIS Speech was heard with great
 Attention, and seemed in general to be
 favourable received. There were ma-
 ny among the Senators that applauded
 the Speaker's Greatness of Mind, and
 his zealous Concern for the Honour
 and Interest of his Country. But *Mar-*
chione Trevisano thus replied :

“ IT is not denied, most prudent Sena-
 tors, but that the Provocations given to
 our Republic by *Lodovico* are exceeding
 great and very offensive to our Dignity ;
 yet the greater they are, and the more
 they excite our Indignation, so much the
 more it becomes our Prudence to mode-
 rate our just Resentment with Maturity
 of Judgment, and with Considerations
 adapted to the present Welfare of the
 Republic. The more our Anger or any
 other Passion is kindled, the more com-

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mendable is it to know how to overcome ourselves, and the greater and juster the Provocation that excites our Resentment, the greater ought to be the Praise. It is therefore the Business of this Senate, so renowned for its Wisdom, and which glories in the Name it has lately acquired of *Deliverer of Italy from the French Bondage*, maturely to consider with what Reproaches she might justly be charged if the *French* by her Means should be tempted to return. We should do well to reflect on the Danger to which we should lie constantly exposed, whenever that Nation becomes Master of the Dutchy of *Milan*. Recal to Memory the Consternation we were in when *Charles* made the Conquest of *Naples*. We never thought ourselves secure till we had formed a Confederacy of almost all the Christian Powers against him. But what a Disparity between one Danger and the other ! That King, in a manner destitute of every Royal Virtue, was but a weak Prince, and almost ridiculous ; and the Kingdom of *Naples* so far Distant from *France*, that the Supplies which he was continually

continually obliged to send thither divided his Forces, and by that means his Conquest rather weakened than increased his Power; and that Acquisition being so near the Dominions of the Pope and *Spain*, made them both his Enemies. But now we must be sensible that the first proceeds on other Views, and the other, tired with the Affairs of *Italy*, is determined to stand neuter in the present Juncture. On the other Side, the King now reigning is endowed with such natural Parts, that he is rather to be dreaded than despised, and the State of *Milan* is so nigh the Kingdom of *France*, that it is capable of receiving continual Supplies, so as to leave us no Probability of expelling him without putting all *Europe* in Motion. Hence it appears that as we are nearest to so formidable a Power, we must be obliged to be at a vast Expence in time of Peace, and if a War should happen, be greatly distressed. I must own my Astonishment at what was advanced by the venerable Person who spoke last. He seems to be under no Apprehension from a King of *France* Duke of *Milan*, and,

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on the other hand, alarms us with the Name of *Lodovico Sforza*, a petty Prince in Comparifon, and much inferior to us in Strength, and who, thro' his natural Timidity and Avarice, has always rendered his Undertakings abortive. He feemed apprehenfive of the Affiftance that *Lodovico* might receive from others; as if it were eafy to form a Union among Powers in fuch a Variety of Views, Inclinations, and Circumftances, or as if there were not much more Reason to dread one great Power collected within itfelf, and exerting its whole Force, than the Power of many leffer Potentates, who having different Views, and acting from different Motives, muft of Confequence difagree in their Operations. He affured himfelf of finding in thofe who, for various Reafons, wifhed our Downfal, that Prudence for overcoming thofe Refentments and covetous Defires, which we cannot find in ourfelves for reftaining thofe ambitious Projects. I know not what Grounds we have to expect that the King of the *Romans* and the *Germanic* Body will awake out of their Lethargy, and refume their
antient

antient Hatred and Jealoufy of *France*,
on account of the Dutchy of *Milan*; ^{A. D. 1498.}
but rather wish they may not take their
Revenge upon us, who have so much in-
creased our Dominions with the Territories
wrested from the House of *Austria*, and
from the Empire. Nor can I conceive
why the King of the *Romans* should sooner
join with our Republic against *France*,
than with *France* against us. On the
contrary it is more likely that those *Barba-*
rians, eternal Enemies to the *Italians*,
should enter into closer Bands of Union,
with a View to make us fall an easy Prey
to their unbounded Ambition. And they
may reasonably expect an easier Victory
when thus united with one another against
us than one of them can hope in con-
junction with us against the other. But
I see no Reason why we should at all
covet an Alliance with the King of the
Romans, when we consider his Conduct
in our late Confederacy with him, and
his Operations in *Italy*. *Lodovico* has
injured us grievously, I own it; but it
can never be Prudence to expose our own
State to a dangerous War merely out of
T 3 Revenge;

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Revenge ; nor will it be shameful to wait for proper Opportunities, which cannot fail of offering themselves sooner or later ; on the contrary it would be highly blameable to shew our Resentment before we can safely strike the Blow. A Government must expect to be treated with Scorn, when public Losses are known to be the Consequence of rash and indiscreet Resolutions. But this will be the Case if we follow the Advice given, for it will not be thought that we have entered into the Alliance recommended for the Sake of the common Safety, but every one will judge that we have been influenced by the Desire of acquiring *Cremona* ; and then it will be a common Question, What is become of the antient Prudence, Gravity and Wisdom of the *Venetian* Senate ? And indeed all the World may justly cry out against us for being ourselves guilty of that Rashness and Imprudence we have so much condemned in *Lodovico* ; I mean inviting the *French* King into *Italy*. The Advantage of our being Masters of *Cremona* would, I admit, be
very

very considerable on account of its Situation and Strength, which renders it in many Respects very commodious to our State. But then we ought to consider whether putting the King of *France* in Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan* does not vastly overballance this Conveniency. I doubt not but upon mature Reflection we shall be ready to conclude that it is more for our Interest, as well as our Grandeur and Reputation, to be, as we now are, the chief and most absolute Power in *Italy*, than to have, in the Heart of this Country, and on our Borders, a Prince infinitely superior to our Republic. We have been in times past sometimes in Amity, at other times at Enmity with *Lodovico*; and this is no more than what may happen continually. The Difficulties concerning *Pisa* are not so perplexing but that some Way of Accommodation may be found; nor are they of that Consequence as to make us endanger the State by precipitate Measures. But we shall never want Occasions to quarrel with the *French* when they become our Neighbours, from the natural

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Antipathy of the *Italians* to all *Barbarians*, from the Pride of the *French*, from that Hatred which Monarchs always bear to Republics, and from the Ambition that is constantly moving the more powerful to oppress the weaker. For these Reasons I am not at all allured with the King's Offer of *Cremona*. On the contrary I rather dread the Issue, as it will give him a Pretence to attack us ; for which Purpose he will be constantly solicited by the *Milanese*, who can never be easy at the Alienation of *Cremona* from their Dutchy; not to mention that the *Germans*, and King of the *Romans* will be highly offended, for both *Cremona* and the *Gbiaradadda* are Members of the Empire. It is not therefore our Interest with new Conquests to create every Day new Enemies, and to raise Jealousies in our Neighbours, the Consequence of which will be, that we must either reduce them all under our Dominion, or expect to be beaten by them all in their Turn ; and which of the two is most likely to happen let any one judge who is not resolved to deceive himself. The Wisdom and Caution of
this

this Senate have ever been admired and talked of in every Corner of *Italy*, and all the World over. I trust it will suffer no Disgrace or Diminution at this time from any rash and dangerous Resolution. To give way to Revenge against one's own Interest is Weakness, to be under a greater Concern for small than for great Dangers is Imprudence; both which being directly opposite to the Wisdom and Gravity of this illustrious Body, I persuade myself that your Resolution on this Head will be calm and circumspect, as it usually is on the like Occasions."

THIS Opinion, tho' supported with so many cogent Reasons, and second-
ed by the gravest and most prudent Senators, could not prevail. The contrary Party carried the Question, in Gratification both of their Revenge and Ambition, two Passions that often lead us astray. The Hatred that most of the Senate had conceived against *Lodovico*, was excessive and knew no Bounds,

The first
Opinion
prevails.

A. D.

1498.

A. D. 1498. Bounds*, any more than the longing Desire of annexing *Cremona*, with the Country about it, and all the *Ghiaradadda* to the *Venetian* Dominion; an Acquisition indeed of no small Value, for it yielded a yearly Revenue of One Hundred Thousand Ducats, but of still greater Importance, as it took in almost the whole Course of the River *Oglio*, and extended their Dominions to the Bank of the *Po*, and along the River *Adda* within Fifteen Miles of the City of *Milan*, and brought them nearer to the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*; an Increase of Territory, that gave Reason for Hopes that whenever the King of *France* should be obliged to employ his main Strength on the other Side of the *Alps* against *Spain* or the Empire, they might have a fair Opportunity of seizing on the Dutchy of *Milan*;

* In order to exasperate the People against *Ludovico*, the common Talk at *Venice* was, that it was better to make an Alliance with *France* than with a Traitor, who underhand was trying to make a private Treaty with the King against them, and in order to distress them was united with *Florence*, and kept Correspondence with the *French*.

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Milan; an Event they imagined at no great Distance, both from the natural Levity of the *French*, who knew better how to conquer than to keep, and from the Constitution of a Republic, which is perpetually the same, whereas in Kingdoms, by the Death of Sovereigns, Counsels and Measures of Government often suffer Alterations. They also considered the Difficulties the *French* would find to live in Friendship and good Harmony with their new Subjects on account of the Difference of their Customs and Manners from those of the *Italians*.

THE Question then was carried by a great Majority for entering into a Confederacy with *France*, and Orders were sent to the Ambassadors of the Republic at the *French* Court to conclude a Treaty on the Terms proposed, provided no Mention was made of the Affairs of *Pisa*.

THIS

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THIS Exception gave the King a great deal of Uneasiness, as he expected by the Deposit to unite both *Florentines* and *Venetians* in his Interest ; and he was also displeased to hear that the *Venetians* were negotiating at *Ferrara* on Means for withdrawing their Troops from *Pisa*, for he expected to have been consulted on that Occasion, and took it ill that, in order to get the better Terms for themselves, they should leave the *Florentines* in perfect Amity with *Lodovico*, which could not fail of rendering his Enterprize on *Milan* more difficult ; and as the Conquest of that Dutchy was to be beneficial to the *Venetians*, he began to suspect they were not in earnest, and to fear that he should receive no Assistance either from them, or from the *Florentines*. As he was not willing therefore to continue in a State of Suspense, and resented the Mistrust of his Honour in the Deposit of *Pisa*, he applied himself seriously to put a finishing Hand to the Peace he was negotiating with the King of the *Romans*, by which, whilst one of them attacked *Lodovico Sforza*,

Sforza, the other might, if he pleased, *A. D.*
fall upon the *Venetians*. 1498.

PURSUANT to this Agreement the King ordered his Ministers to acquaint the *Venetian* Ambassadors, that he was determined to come into no Treaty with their Masters before the Deposit of *Pisa* was made; and sending for the *Florentine* Ministers was pleased to declare, that they might rest secure on his Royal Word that he would never sign a Treaty with the *Venetians* on any other Terms than those which he had proposed. But, in Opposition to these Assurances, Duke *Valentino*, and the other Agents of the Pope, with the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, and *Trivulzio*, together with all the rest of the *Italians* who were interested in the War, offered to his Consideration so many solid and cogent Reasons, that he thought fit to alter his Resolution. They represented to his Majesty how impolitic it must be to prefer the Friendship of the *Florentines* before that of the *Venetians*, who were by much the more powerful State, and by their Situation lay

A. D. 1498. lay more convenient for distressing the Dutchy of *Milan*. That no Advice could be more pernicious than such as would induce him to deprive himself of their Assistance for fear of disobliging the *Florentines*, who had Work enough upon their Hands, and lay too remote for the Scene of Action, to be of any considerable Service : That such a Step would probably afford an Opportunity for *Lodovico* of effecting a Reconciliation with the *Venetians*, at the Price of his relinquishing the *Florentines*, who were the Occasion of all the Difference between them, and, what is more, of entering into a close Alliance with them ; and what Obstacles and Difficulties might arise from such a Conjunction has been demonstrated by late Experience. In the League that was formed against *Charles*, the Names indeed of mighty Kings were inserted, but no other Forces than those of *Lodovico* and the *Venetians* were employed in retaking *Novara*, and preserving the Dutchy of *Milan* against the Power of *France*. They did not forget to remind him how Dangerous and fallacious it might prove to rely on the Faith

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Faith and Friendship of *Maximilian*, A. D. 1498.
 who was for ever entering upon great Projects, without Prudence to conceal, or Power to execute them. But should it happen that Fortune proved favourable to his Designs, the King would do well to consider the Consequence of increasing the Power of an inveterate and eternal Enemy to the Crown of *France*. These Reasons were of such Weight with the King, that, without mentioning a Word more of *Pisa*, he entered into a Confederacy with the *Venetians*.

By this Treaty it was agreed that while the King with a powerful Army entered the *Milanese*, the *Venetians* should do the same from their Frontiers: That as soon as the whole Dutchy should fall a Conquest to their united Arms, *Gremona* with all the *Ghiaradadda*, excepting a Space of about Eighty Feet along the River *Adda*, should be put into the Possession of the *Venetians*, the rest of the Dutchy remaining to the King: That for Security of this Acquisition to *France*,
 the

Articles of
the Confederacy.

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the *Venetians* should stand obliged to maintain and keep in Readiness a certain Number of Horse and Foot during a limited Time ; the King on his Part engaging to act in the same manner with respect to *Cremona*, and all the Places belonging to the *Venetians* in *Lombardy*, as far as the Marshes of *Venice*.

Treaty
kept a Secret.

THESE Articles were kept so very secret, that *Lodovico* did not come to the Knowledge of them for several Months ; all which Time he was doubtful whether they contained any more than a defensive Alliance, as the Parties gave out, or offensive with Regard to him. The whole Affair indeed was so dexterously managed, that even the Pope, who was in such Confidence with the King, could not for a long Time inform himself of the Particulars. As soon as the Treaty was concluded, the King, avoiding any Mention of *Pisa*, proposed to the *Florentines* Terms quite different from the former ; and this mortifying Treatment, added to the Vexations they received from the *Venetians*, put them under the Necessity
of

of espousing the Party of the Duke of *Milan*, whose Forces had done them signal Service in the *Casentino*. A. D. 1498.

THE *Venetian* Troops in the *Casentino* were continually harrassed by the Peasants as well as by the Soldiers ; and after struggling under the Want of Privisions, and especially of Forage, in that hilly Country, were at length obliged to contract their Quarters to *Bibbiena* and the adjacent Villages, yet still kept Possession of the Passes through which they might receive Succours, or retire in Safety when too much pressed. *Carlo Orsini*, with his Men at Arms and a Hundred Foot, was posted at the Pass of *Montalone*, and lower down *Alviano* guarded *Vernia*. On the other Hand *Pagolo Vitelli* proceeding with his usual Caution, after he had reduced the Enemy to so narrow a Compass, attempted to dispossess them of these Passes, that their whole Strength being confined within *Bibbiena*, and surrounded by Enemies and Mountains, they might with Ease be subdued, or dwindle away, being

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already very much diminished *. For besides small Parties that had been taken marauding about the Mountains, Multitudes of their Foot had deserted, and for Want of Provisions and Forage above Fifteen Hundred of their Horse had gone off at different Times, and been severely handled and harrassed by the Mountaineers in their Retreat. *Carlo Orsini* was at last obliged to abandon the Pass of *Montalone*, and not without some Danger ; for a Party of *Florentines*, with a Number of Peasants, who knew his Necessity, and expected such an Event, attacked him on the Road. But as he had the Precaution to secure some Defiles towards *Bibbiena*, he cut his Way through with the Loss only of his heavy Baggage, and did considerable Execution upon the Enemy, who pursued him in Disorder. This Example of *Orsini* was followed by the Commanders of the Garrisons of *Vernia* and *Cbiusi*.

THE

* The Want of Provisions had obliged them to send off Five Hundred Horse, which were intercepted by the Enemy ; as were also Four Hundred Foot, and Two Hundred Stradiotti, with the *Venetian* Proveditor's Secretary, on a Convoy of Money and Provisions to *Bibbiena*.
Bembo.

THE Duke of *Urbino*, *Alviano*, *Astorre Baglione*, *Piero Marcello* the *Venetian* Proveditor, and *Giuliano de' Medici*, with Sixty Horse and Seven Hundred Foot, now found themselves all cooped up in *Bibbiena*, that being the only Town remaining in their Possession, which they were resolved to defend in Hopes of receiving Relief from *Venice*. The Senate indeed was not wanting to make Preparations for that Purpose, for they thought it dishonourable to the *Venetian* Arms to be forced out of the *Casentino*, and by maintaining a War in the Enemy's Country expected better Terms of Peace. To this End they sent pressing Orders to Count *Pitigliano*, who was assembling some Troops at *Ravenna*, to be expeditious, since they had received repeated Advices from the Duke of *Urbino* and other Hands at *Bibbiena*, that they began to want Provisions, and, unless speedily relieved, should be obliged to capitulate. The Duke of *Milan* and his Commanders would have these Succours rendered useless by the Conquest of *Bibbiena*, and for

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that

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that End desired a Reinforcement of Four Thousand Infantry. But for many Reasons such an Enterprize was judged impracticable; such as the Bitterness of the Season in that wild and rugged Country, which obstructed the Operations of War, and created other Inconveniencies. Besides, the *Florentines* were in no Condition to make such an Augmentation, being quite disheartened at the vast and growing Expence of this vexatious War, and moreover weakened by the Divisions which began to take Head in their turbulent City.

Divisions
in Florence

THE Partisans of *Pagolo Vitelli* in Florence had formed themselves into a Body, in opposition to those Citizens who had espoused the Party of Count *Rinuccio*, an old and trusty General of the Republic, and allied to several Persons of the first Rank. The Defeat of *San Regolo*, where he had the Misfortune to command, was the Cause of *Vitelli's* Promotion above him. The Count, who could not well brook Subordination, being sent with his Regiment into the *Casentino*, was not very readily

readily disposed to execute what he knew ^{A. D.} would only add to his Adversary's Reputation. ^{1498.} This Misunderstanding between the two Generals was exasperated by *Pagolo's* Temper and Conduct, for he was profuse of the public Money among his Troops, for ever dissatisfied with the *Florentine* Commissaries, and often, both in Council and in the Field, seemed to arrogate to himself more Authority than became his Station. He had very lately, without acquainting the Government, granted a Pass to the Duke of *Urbino*, who was sick, for retiring out of the *Casentino**; and under Protection of the same Pass, *Giuliano de' Medici* accompanied him; to the great Mortification of the *Florentines*, who imagined that if the Duke had been drove to Straits, and refused a Pass, he would willingly have given up *Bibbiena* for the Benefit of returning into his own Dominions for the Recovery of his Health. The Adversaries of *Pagolo* highly exclaimed at the Indul-

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gence

* *Bembo* says the Duke had been denied a Physician before he solicited a Pass.

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*Floren-
tines* disfa-
voured with
Vitelli.

gence shown to *Giuliano de' Medici*, their fellow Citizen, who after being declared a Rebel, had marched in open Arms against his Country. This Conduct of the General had greatly lessened him in the Esteem of the Government, and his Demands were not so readily granted. He had also lost his Popularity by his Proceedings in the *Casentino*, where what Advantages had been gotten were more owing to the Peasants than to the Soldiery; and also, because depending on his Valour, they had long since expected he would have put an End to the War in those Parts, attributing, as usual with the Populace, to his Want of good Will, what was in Reality owing to the Place of Action, the Season, and Want of Provisions. As the Reinforcement of Four Thousand Men which had been demanded did not arrive, Count *Pitigliano* had Time to advance as far as *Elci*, a Castle belonging to the Duke of *Urbino* on the Borders of the *Florentines*, where he took a Review of all the Forces there assembled, with an Intent to pass the *Appennines*, for which they were properly

perly chosen and qualified with respect to that difficult Country, being mostly Foot, and Men at Arms lightly armed; and this was the last Effort made by the *Venetians* in the *Casentino*. A. D. 1498.

PAGOLO VITELLI, leaving a sufficient Number of Troops to block up *Bibbiena*, and to secure some important Passes, marched with the rest to the Pieve of *San Stefano*, a Village belonging to the *Florentines* at the Foot of a high Mountain, in order to oppose the Enemy, whose Way lay down the Hill. But Count *Pitigliano*, who saw before him Mountains of Snow, and at the Foot of them expected a powerful Opposition, in narrow Defiles, which would have rendered his advancing dangerous even in a Summer's Day, would not attempt the Passage, tho' pressed by the *Venetians*, as he used to say, with provoking rather than encouraging Orders. He had several Plans laid before him for making Diversions, and was advised to march into the *Valdibagno*, where the *Florentines* had lost

A. D. 1498. some Towns; but he would not alter his
 Resolution.

Steps to-
 wards a
 Peace.

BUT the more coolly the War was prosecuted, the more ardent was the Desire of a Peace on both Sides. As for *Lodovico*, he sincerely wished a Reconciliation of the Parties, in hopes that an Accommodation would render the *Venetians* less fond of seeing the *French* in *Italy*; and he also flattered himself that they would abate of their Indignation, when they were convinced of his Sincerity by his taking so much Pains to bring about a Peace. With this View he applied himself in earnest to *Ercole d' Este*, his Father-in-Law, intreating him that in a gentle, but by no means threatening Manner, he would address himself to the *Florentines*, (who knew of his Application, and began to suspect him) and dispose them to comply in some measure with the Desire of the *Venetians* in relation to a Peace; because if an Agreement could not be concluded, he should be constrained to withdraw all, or greatest Part of his Forces from *Tuscany*. This Affair
 was

was in Agitation several Months at *Ferrara*, where new Difficulties still arising, at last *Ercole* was desired to come to *Venice* to facilitate the Matter. The Duke objected to this, but much greater Opposition was made at *Florence*, where it was known that the *Venetians* chose to have *Ercole* the sole Umpire of their Disputes. But *Lodovico* was so pressing in his Sollicitations that at last the Duke consented to go, and the *Florentines* sent to *Venice* *Giovanni Battista Ridolfo*, and *Pagolo Antonio Soderini*, two Persons of the first Rank and Character in their Republic.

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THE first Point that came under Debate was, Whether *Ercole* was to arbitrate and put an End to all Disputes, or was only to act as Mediator between the Parties by endeavouring to compose their Differences, and for that End reducing the principal Articles in Dispute into a narrow Compass, as he had done some Time before at *Ferrara**. The *Florentines*,

Treaty of
Peace in
Agitation

* The Duke three Days after his Arrival at *Venice* acquainted the Senate that he had his Sentence in Writing, which he would deliver them; and that if they did not like

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tines were for having him act in this last Capacity, as Mediator only, being sensible that *Ercole* was more disposed to favour the *Venetians*, than their Republic; and that if he was to pass his Judgment in *Venice*, he would in a manner be under a Necessity of gratifying that Senate; and that tho' he should be otherwise inclined, yet he would be biassed by the Duke of *Milan*, who at that time was seeking Occasion to lay the *Venetians* under some Obligation to himself. And tho' many Difficulties had been removed at *Ferrara*, there still remained some delicate Points to be adjusted; and even what was settled might perhaps be altered if left to his sole Arbitration. On the other Hand the *Venetians* were determined, if the Duke was not Umpire, to come into no Terms whatever; not so much because they reposed a Confidence in the Duke, as for other special Reasons. The People in general were heartily tired of a War, which

like it, they might alter it to their Mind. *Giorgio Cornaro* approved of this Offer, but the rest rejected it as injurious to their Honour. The *Florentines* had some Intimation of this, and grew jealous of the Duke.
Embo.

which was vastly expensive, without ^{A. D.}
 Hopes of Recompence; but the young ^{1498.}
 and high-spirited among the Senators
 were resolved to hearken to no Peace, but
 on Condition that the Liberties of the
Pisans should be preserved, and that they
 should be put in Possession of those
 Places in their Territory which they held
 when the Republic received them under
 her Protection. They used many Argu-
 ments in support of this Resolution, espe-
 cially their own Decree for maintaining
 the Liberty of the *Pisans*, which obliged
 them in Honour and Conscience not to
 let them fall a Sacrifice. Others, tho' less
 scrupulous on that Head, were yet im-
 moderate in their Demands for the Re-
 imbursement of the Expences which the
 Republic had incurred in the Defence of
Pisa. But the Senators of the soundest
 Judgment and greatest Authority, were
 of a different Sentiment. They were
 grown weary of a tedious and expensive
 War, despaired of preserving *Bibbiena*, and
 found it very difficult to send Succours to
Pisa, or make any Diversions to the Pur-
 pose, and the *Florentines* much stronger
 than

Debates
 at Venice.

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than they had imagined. They considered further, that tho' a War against the Duke of *Milan* was reckoned an easy Task, yet the King of *France* had not as yet come to an Agreement with the King of the *Romans*; and many other Accidents might happen to retard his Motions. That tho' he should surmount all his present Difficulties, and declare War, yet War is still subject to Casualties, and many great and unforeseen Dangers might arise in the Prosecution. But what gave them most Concern, and mightily alarmed their Fears, was the Report of the vast Preparations making by *Bajazet*, both by Sea and Land, for invading their Dominions in *Greece*. On this Consideration they thought it of the last Importance to make an End of this War, and not for the Sake of adhering too pertinaciously to the Faith of a political Promise continue to labour under a Load of Calamities. Since the resuming of the Treaty of *Ferrara* these last mentioned prudent Senators, foreseeing it would be necessary to give up some Points, which might be strongly controverted, had very wisely prevailed

prevailed with the Council of the *Pregadi* A. D. 1498. to intrust the Council of *Ten* with full Power and ample Authority to remove all Difficulties on this Head. This Council of *Ten* consisted of chosen Senators of singular Gravity and Prudence; and mostly of the pacific Strain, who were for an Accommodation with the *Florentines*. But now since the Matter was to receive its full Determination at *Venice*, they despaired of bringing the Council of the *Pregadi* to agree to the Articles that had been drawn up at *Ferrara*; and on the other hand they were willing to avoid the Censure of the Public, which they were sure to incur by determining the Affair themselves. They resolved therefore that the whole should be left to the Arbitration of the Duke of *Ferrara*, with an Intent that all the Blame of the Decision might be thrown on the Umpire, promising themselves that a Judgment pronounced by a Person to whom both Parties had referred the Controversy, would be sooner ratified than what might be concluded in a Treaty between the contending Powers. The Result was, that, after some Days spent

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spent in Disputes, the Duke of *Milan* threatening the *Florentines* immediately to recal his Troops from *Tuscany*, they thought it best to hesitate no longer, but submitted to an Arbitration, and both

Duke of
Ferrara
madeUm-
pire.

Parties invested the Duke with an absolute Authority, for the Space of Eight Days, to decide and put an End to all their Differences. *Ercole*, after much Discussion, and mature Deliberation, on the 6th of *April* gave his Sentence and De-

HisDeter-
mination.

termination, by which it was decreed that in Eight Days next ensuing all Hostilities should cease between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*: That on *St. Mark's Day* next at farthest, the Allies of both the *Pisans* and the *Florentines* should withdraw their Troops out of *Tuscany* into their own Territories; and particularly that the *Venetians* should recal all their Forces from *Pisa* and its Territory, and evacuate *Bibbiena*, with all other Places taken from the *Florentines*; who on their part were to grant a full Amnesty to the Inhabitants of *Bibbiena* for all Offences: That in Consideration of the Charges incurred by the *Venetians*, which they estimated

estimated at no less than Eight Hundred
 Thousand Ducats, the *Florentines* should
 pay them Fifteen Thousand Ducats yearly
 for the Term of Twelve Years: That
 the *Pisans* should have full Power and
 free Liberty to exercise any Trade or
 Calling both by Land and Sea: That
 they should continue in Possession of the
 Castles of *Pisa* and other Places which
 they held at the Time of passing this
 Decision, and might garrison them with
Pisans, or Foreigners, provided they were
 not of any State suspected by the *Floren-*
tines: That these Garrisons should be
 paid out of the Taxes raised by the *Flo-*
rentines on the *Pisans*; but that no larger
 Sums should be levied, nor more standing
 Troops maintained, than was practised
 before the Rebellion: That the *Pisans*
 should be permitted to demolish all the
 Castles and fortified Places in their Terri-
 tory, which they had taken from the
Florentines while they were under the
 Protection of the *Venetians*: That in
Pisa the Chief Justice in Civil Cases
 should be a Foreigner, elected by the
Pisaas

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Articles
concerning
the *Pisans*

A. D. 1498. *Pisans* themselves out of a Country not obnoxious to the *Florentines*; and that a Justice commissioned by the *Florentines* might have Power to receive Appeals, but not in criminal Cases where Death, Banishment or Confiscation were concerned, without the Presence of an Assistant Justice or Assessor, commissioned by *Ercole* or his Successors, to be elected by him or them out of Five Civilians of the Dutchy of *Ferrara* nominated by the *Pisans*: That all Goods moveable and immoveable should be restored on both Sides, but without any Allowance for Interest. In all other Cases the *Florentines* might assert their Rights in the *Pisan*, and the *Pisans* were to engage for the future not to take up Arms against the *Florentines* on any Account whatsoever.

As soon as this Decree or Sentence of the Duke was published in *Venice* the whole Town was in an Uproar, and both the Noblesse and the Plebeians were full of nothing but Invectives against *Ercole*,
and

and the chief Managers of the Treaty*, A. D. 1499.
 They exclaimed at the Indignity and Re-
 proach cast upon the Republic, for aban-
 doning the *Pisans* after so solemn an
 Engagement to defend them. They com-
 plained also that the Sums settled for the
 Reimbursement of their Expences bore no
 Proportion to their just Demand.

BUT the Disappointment and Distress
 of the *Pisan* Ambassadors, and the Re-
 sentment of that People were inexpressible.
 They had been all this Time artfully
 made to expect that the Liberty of their
 Country should be preserved, and not
 only their whole Territory restored;
 but that the important Port of *Livorno*
 would probably be assigned them; whereas
 this inauspicious Decree not only extin-
 guished all future Expectations, but de-
 prived them of what little they had left
 valuable. They filled *Venice* with loud
 Complaints of the Injustice done them,

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X

and

* The *Venetians* were so exasperated by this determi-
 nation, that they hooted the Duke whenever he appeared,
 and upbraided him with a Breach of Trust. So hard was
 it to satisfy all Parties, that not one of the three concerned
 in this Decision was pleased. *Bembo.*

A. D.

1499.

and recounted to every one they met the advantageous Offers they had refused from Princes and States, relying on the Faith of the *Venetians*: That they had often rejected better Terms offered them by the *Florentines* themselves; and that they were betrayed and made a Sacrifice by those in whom they had reposed an entire Confidence; that they were left destitute, without any Provision made for their Safety, except in outward Shew, and vain Pretence. For what Security could they expect for their Liberties when the *Florentines* shall have constituted Magistrates, modelled the Government after their own Mind, and engrossed all the Commerce into the Hands of their own Merchants? Or what should hinder that, when the Peasantry, which had been the Sinews of their Defence, should be returned to their Labour, they might not make themselves absolute Masters of the Lives and Fortunes of the Citizens, especially as the Guard of the City Gates is to be in their Hands? And of what Use is it with regard to their Safety, to have the Forts in their Possession, where the
Garrisons

THE WARS IN ITALY. 307

Garrisons are to be paid by the *Florentines*, A. D. 1499. especially as it was not permitted them to keep larger Garrisons in so critical a Juncture than were kept in Times of profound Peace? The Article of Indemnity was a m^{er} Formality; for of what Use would it be to them not to pay the Interest, when the Merchandise and Moveables they had seized at the Time of the Revolution amounted to more than the Value of all their present Effects, which on Examination would be declared forfeited, and then seized, and not being found sufficient to answer the Demand, the Owner becomes liable to be arrested and hurried to a Goal.

SOME eminent Persons of the *Venetian* Senate, of a pacific Temper, who were willing to see an End of all Discontents and Murmurings, tho' the Eight Days of the Compromise were elapsed, induced *Ercole*, who thought himself in Danger from the incensed Populace, to add an explanatory Supplement to his Decree, which he did without the Knowledge of the *Florentine* Plenipotentiaries.

Explanatory Ad-
dition
thought
necessary.

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Its Con-
tents.

By this he declared that under the Name of Forts were comprehended the Gates of the City of *Pisa*, and of all those Towns that had Citadels; and that a certain Sum of Money should be allowed the *Pisans* out of the Revenues of their State for the Payment of the Garrisons, Governors, and Assessors: That the Ecclesiastical State, with those of *Mantoua*, *Ferrara*, and *Bologna* should be deemed not obnoxious: As to the Restitution of Moveables, what had passed on that Account should be buried in Oblivion: That the *Pisans* should themselves nominate a Judge Assessor from the Places not obnoxious; and that the *Florentine* Chief Justice should not pronounce Sentence on any criminal Case, tho' never so trivial, without the Assessor: That the *Pisans* were to be well used by the *Florentines*, and treated with that Distinction which is usually paid to Citizens of the other noble Towns in *Italy*; and that they should not be burthened with new Taxes.

THOSE

THOSE that procured this Explanation did not care whether it took Effect or not ; it was purely intended to allay the Heats occasioned by the Clamours of the *Pisan* Ambassadors ; and was drawn in such Terms, and consisted of such Limitations and Restrictions as the Authors thought most proper to justify themselves in the Council of the Pregadi, by making it appear, that if they had not obtained an entire Liberty for the *Pisans*, they had at least provided for their Safety and Wellbeing. When therefore the Decree with the Explanation came to be laid before the Pregadi, after several Debates, it was resolved that in consideration of the Condition of the present Times, the Difficulties that would attend a Continuation of the Defence of *Pisa*, and above all the formidable Power of the *Turk*, the abovesaid Decree and Explanation should stand unratified by any public Sanction ; but, what is more to the Purpose in all Affairs, they took care to have it executed. For they ordered that all Hostilities should cease after Eight Days,

A. D. 1499. and recalled all their Forces from *Tuscany* at the Time mentioned in the Decree, many among the Senators wishing *Pisa* in the Possession of the *Florentines*, rather than to see it fall into the Hands of *Lodovico*.

WHEN the Decree was brought to *Florence*, there appeared no less Agitation in the Minds of that People than had been at *Venice*: It was thought a mighty Grievance that the *Florentines* should be bound to make good any Part of the Charges their Enemies had incurred for the Defence of Rebels, especially as all that was procured for them was no more than to be Sovereigns in Name, since the Citadels and Fortifications were to be left in the Hands of the *Pisans*. The Administration of Justice in criminal Cases, which was a great Part of the Prerogative, and most necessary for the Preservation of a State, was decreed to be out of their Power, and intrusted in the Hands of Strangers. But after all their Murmurings and Complaints of those and other Grievances, they were at last obliged, by the same

same Threats which *Lodovico* had before A. D. 1499. used to compel them to agree to an Arbitration, to submit, in Hopes that in process of Time, by good Policy, and Yet ratify it. treating the *Pisans* with more Humanity, they might restore their Authority and re-establish their Affairs, and so ratified the Decree, but not the Explanation, which had not yet reached them.

BUT the Fears, Frights, Perplexity, Indignation and Jealousy of the *Pisans* at *Pisans exasperated at the Decree.* this Decree were inexpressible. Enraged at the *Venetians*, and suspecting farther Treachery from them, they immediately turned their Forces out of their Forts and Gates, nor would they permit them to remain in their City. For many Days it was debated whether the Decree should be accepted or rejected. They were terrified at the Thoughts of their being abandoned, and left destitute, without any friendly Power to support them; but on the other hand their Hatred to the *Florentines* was invincible, and they despaired of being forgiven the Injuries, Trouble and Expence they had occasioned

X 4

them,

A. D. 1499 them, and the Hazard to which they had exposed them of losing their own Liberty. In this Perplexity the Duke of *Milan* pressed them to submit, offering himself to become a Mediator for their obtaining more advantageous Terms. But the *Pisans* being willing to try whether that Duke retained the same Ambition he formerly had of becoming Master of *Pisa*, and being disposed in that Case freely to come under his Dominion, sent Ambassadors to him to tender their Obedience; but it was to no Purpose. After great Perplexity they came at last to a Resolution to suffer the last Extremity rather than return under the *Florentine* Yoke, to which they were secretly encouraged by the *Genoese*, *Lucchese*, and *Pandolfo Petrucci*. *Lodovico* was so noted for his double Dealing, that the *Florentines* suspected him, tho' he had now in reality relinquished all Designs upon *Pisa*; and indeed Sincerity is never expected from a Person who bears the Character of a Dissembler, and has been once known to circumvent those he had to deal with. The *Florentines* being then deprived of
all

all Hopes of recovering *Pisa* by Treaty, A. D.
1499.
imagined that they had now a very fair Opportunity of reducing it to their Obedience by Force of Arms. For this End they sent Orders to *Vitelli* to return into the *Pisan*, and applied themselves to get in readiness all the Provisions that General required for that Enterprize.

As to the Duke of *Milan*, the Situation of his Affairs seemed to decline every Day. All the Propensity he had shewn to please the *Venetians* in the late Treaty did not in the least remove their Resentment; for they had resolved on his Ruin, as much out of a Spirit of Revenge as from a Prospect of Profit. *Maximilian* did not appear so ready to enter into a War with *France*, as he was in demanding Money of the Duke; and, contrary to his Engagements, prolonged the Truce for the whole ensuing Month of *August*, leaving him to expect no more Advantage from his Succour than he had reaped from his late Diversion. For he
entered

A. D. entered into the League of *Suabia* *
 1499. against the *Swiss*, who for several Reasons
 had been declared Enemies of the Em-
Maximi-
lian enters pire. This War was prosecuted with
 into the great Animosity and Bloodshed on both
Suabian
 League. Sides; so that *Lodovico* lost all Hopes of
 Assistance from that Quarter, at least till
Maximilian should put an End to that
 War either by Treaty or Conquest. But
 as that Prince had given him Assurance
 that he would never make Peace with
France or *Switzerland* without a Regard
 to his Security, he found himself under
 a Necessity of sending him Supplies of
 Money.

King of
France
 prepares
 for his
Italian
 Expedition.

THE King of *France* was wise enough
 to take his Measures from the present
 Juncture of Affairs, and relying on the
 Assistance of the Pope and *Venetians*,
 he rejected the Advice of those of his
 Council, who on account of his late
 Inauguration, and the Scarcity of Money,
 would have persuaded him to defer his

Ex-

* This War of *Maximilian* with the *Swiss* is de-
 scribed by *Arrigo Mutio* and *Naucleto*, and is called
The Grand War, which cost the Lives of Thirty Thou-
 sand Men; but the *Swiss* suffered most.

Expedition against *Milan* to the next Year. *Lewis* flattered himself that the War could not last many Months, and consequently did not require vast Sums. The Preparations therefore were carried on with all Diligence, and Methods were found out to furnish the *Swiss* underhand with a Supply of Money, to enable them to keep *Maximilian* employed.

Lodovico by this Time being convinced that this dreadful War was approaching, used all his Endeavours to procure the Assistance of some potent State in so imminent a Danger. He found it impossible to pacify the *Venetians*, and the King of *Spain*, tho' often solicited, unconcerned for his Preservation. In order therefore to lose no Time while he waited the Success of a Negotiation with other Powers, he deputed *Galeazzo Visconti* to *Maximilian* and the *Swiss*, to offer his Mediation for a Peace between them. He had received Information that the Pope had not succeeded in procuring *Carlotta* for his Son *Cæsar Borgia*: For that Princess, either influenced by paternal Love or

Lodovico's
Conser-
nation.

Au-

A. D. Authority, or privately admonished by
 1499. the King of *France*, who affected to appear zealous for the Match, obstinately
Carlotta refused to marry *Valentino*, but on condition that *Federigo* should at the same Time be established in his lawful Rights of Inheritance, for which that Prince offered to pay an annual Tribute, besides other Advantages to the Crown of *France*. *Lodovico* was not without Hopes that this mortifying Repulse might operate on *Alexander*, and detach him from the *French* Interest. He therefore thought fit to propose an Alliance with the Pope, in conjunction with *Federigo* and the *Florentines*, engaging that all the confederated Powers should assist his Holiness in reducing the Vicars in *Romagna*, and furnish him with a sufficient Sum of Money to purchase a Sovereignty for his Son. *Alexander* at first seemed to listen to these Proposals; but finding they were groundless, and that he had Reason to expect greater Advantages from the *French* King, during the turbulent and calamitous Season, which now seemed approaching, when *Italy* was to be over-spread with foreign Armies,

Armies, renounced all Thoughts of *Car-* A. D.
lotta, and gave his Consent for the Nup- 1499.
 tials of his Son with the Daughter of M.
D'Albret, a Person of the Blood Royal,
 in Possession of a large Estate, and not
 inferior to any Nobleman in the Kingdom
 of *France*.

LODOVICO, after trying all manner Lodovico
 of Ways to reconcile the *Venetians*, finding craves Aid
 them implacable, thought it necessary, of the
 by means of proper Persons, and in con- Turk.
 cert with *Federigo*, to make Application
 privately to the *Turk*. *Sforza* was well
 satisfied that if *Bajazet*, who was already
 making such vast Preparations, should
 turn his Arms against the *Venetians*, he
 could not have much to fear from their
 Alliance with *France*. He also offered
 the *Florentines* what Assistance they might
 think necessary for reducing *Pisa*, on
 condition they would engage to assist him and of the
 with Three Hundred Men at Arms and Floren-
 Two Thousand Foot for the Preservation tines.
 of his Dominions. On the other hand
 the *French* King demanded of the *Floren-*
tines a Regiment of Five Hundred Men
 at

A. D. at Arms, for a Year's Service, on which
 1499. Consideration he passed his royal Word
 Proposals of Lewis that, after the Reduction of *Milan*, he
 to the Florentines. would assist them with One Thousand
 Lances for a Year, and that he would
 conclude no Treaty with *Lodovico* till
 they were put in full Possession of *Pisa*
 and its Territory. He would moreover
 engage that the Pope and *Venetians* should
 both move to their Assistance, if they
 should happen to be invaded before the
 Dutchy of *Milan* was subdued.

THESE different Proposals kept the
Florentines in great Suspense, not only
 on account of the Difficulties that would
 attend a Resolution on either Side, but
 with regard to the different Parties in the
 Republic. As *Lodovico* demanded no
 Assistance till the War of *Pisa* was brought
 to a Period, his Succour was much surer,
 and more ready at Hand, than what was
 offered by *France*, which indeed might
 be reckoned of no Consequence; for as
 the *Pisans* were unsupported, they ex-
 pected to reduce them before the End of
 the Summer; and besides it seemed un-
 grateful

grateful to abandon *Lodovico*, whose present Danger was owing to his confederating with them against the *Venetians*, which provoked that Republic to enter into an Alliance with *France*. Not a few also were cautious of irritating the Duke of *Milan*, being sensible that he had it in his Power to lay several stumbling Blocks that might obstruct or retard their Enterprize upon *Pisa*.

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1499.

ON the other hand it came to be considered, that *Lodovico* was utterly incapable of resisting the Power of *France* supported by the *Venetians*; for which Reason it might be dangerous to make an Enemy of a Prince, who very probably would, in a few Months, traverse all *Italy* with an irresistible Army. Then as to the Assistance they had received from *Lodovico*, allowing it to have been the Cause of his present perilous Situation, yet the Memory of his Benefits was easily efaced by calling to Mind the many Injuries he had done them. For the very Rebellion of the *Pisans* was owing to his ambitious Desire of making himself Master of that State;

A. D. State; and during the Revolt he had not
 1499. only himself protected, but also excited
 other Powers to assist the Rebels. Upon
 the whole it was manifest that his Injuries
 much outweighed his Favours, and that
 those very Favours were bestowed not
 out of any good Will to them, but from
 a Spirit of Revenge on those Interlopers
 the *Venetians*, who had reaped the Fruits
 of his Labours, and snatched the Prey
 out of his Mouth. After much Delibera-
 tion, and duly weighing the Reasons that
 offered on both Sides, the *Florentines* at
 length concluded on a Neutrality, and in
 the mean time to pursue their Scheme
 against *Pisa*, for which they imagined
 their own Force was sufficient. But as
 they were not without some Apprehensions
 from *Lodovico*, who might possibly give
 them some Trouble in their Undertaking,
 they thought best to play his own Tricks
 upon himself, and amuse him with fair
 Words. After they had thus held him
 some time in suspense, without returning
 a direct Answer, at last they ordered one
 of their Secretaries to acquaint him, that
 they found indeed that the Sentiments
 of

*Floren-
tines re-
solve to
stand neu-
ter.*

*Politick An-
swer of
the Flo-
rentines.*

of the Republic and of his Highness were the same with regard to the End, and that they only differed as to the Means : That it was resolved, after the Reduction of *Pisa*, to send him the Succours he had demanded ; but that it was not safe to enter into a Treaty, which was impracticable in a republican Government without entrusting the Affair in many Hands, and therefore could not be conducted with due Secrecy ; and if it should take Air, the King of *France* might take Offence, and perhaps induce the Pope and *Venetians* to lend Assistance to the *Pisans*, which would render a Treaty prejudicial to themselves, and of no Service to him ; for if they failed in their Enterprize against *Pisa*, they were not obliged, according to his own Proposals, nor indeed in a Condition, to lend him any Succours. But they assured him that he might depend on their Assistance whenever it lay in their Power to afford it, and rest satisfied with this Promise, which was given him with the Approbation of their leading Men, on whose Authority depended all the Deliberations of the Republic,

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and was therefore equivalent to signed Articles. They offered at the same time to come into his own Terms, if he could find any other Method that would secure them from those Inconveniences which they had laid before him. This artful and evasive Answer, tho' coloured over with such specious Reasons, as might perhaps be satisfactory to a Person of ordinary Penetration, was yet too loose and indefinite to pass itself upon *Lodovico*, who easily saw through it, and concluded, from their Refusal to accept of his Assistance, that no Stress was to be laid on the *Florentines*.

Lodovico
in Distress.

THE Duke was now in the utmost Perplexity, finding himself disappointed in all his Expectations. He could have no firm Reliance on *Maximilian*, who was of an inconstant Temper; and besides at War with the *Swiss*; and he had but little Dependance on *Federigo*, who had promised him Four Hundred Lances and One Thousand Foot under *Prospero Colonna*, and it was indeed his Interest to assist him; but he knew that Prince was

but

but slow in his Motions, and there was A. D. 1499. besides Reason to think that he had no Troops to spare. As for the Duke of *Ferrara*, his Father-in-Law, to whom he did not forget to make his Applications, after being first reproached with his Treachery, by which the Duke was forced to give up the Polesine of *Rovigo*, he was told that it was by no means advisable, but very dangerous for the Duke to act against the *Venetians*, because his Dominions bordered on theirs, and they might at any time be at the Gates of *Ferrara*; it was his Interest therefore to maintain Peace with his Neighbours, and attend his domestic Affairs.

L O D O V I C O now saw himself ne- *Lodovico* cessitated to stand entirely upon his own fortifies Bottom, and therefore applied himself his fron- tier Towns with the utmost Dilligence to fortify *Anon*, *Novara*, and *Alessandria della Paglia*, which were the first Towns the *French* would meet with in their March to *Italy*. He resolved to send *Galeazzo Sanseverino* with the greatest Part of his Forces that Way to oppose the *French*, and to employ

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the Remainder under the Marquis of *Mantoua* against the *Venetians*. But soon after, whether out of wrong Judgment or Avarice, or because the Decrees of Heaven are unalterable, he changed this wise Disposition. He had the Weakness to persuade himself, that the *Venetians* would find their whole Strength insufficient to defend themselves against the mighty Power of the *Turk*, who had declared War against them both by Sea and Land, and would be in no Condition to give him any Disturbance. In Complaisance therefore to *Galeazzo*, who was disgusted at the superior Title of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, he was so impolitic as to disoblige that General, by refusing to pay him some old Arrears, and requiring such Oaths and Securities as a Man of Honour knew not how to dispense with. But he was soon made sensible of his Mistake, when he observed the *Venetian* Troops daily increasing in the *Brescian*, in order to be in Readiness to commence the War in Concert with the *French* on their Arrival. He then thought himself obliged to make Application once
more

more to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was Father-in-Law to the Marquis of *Man-*
toua as well as himself, for his Interest,
 in order to accommodate Matters with
 the Marquis. But the Danger increased
 faster than those Differences could be
 adjusted; for the Duke of *Savoy* had
 signed a Treaty with *France*, and *French*
 Troops passed every Day through *Pied-*
mont, hastening to their Rendezvous in the
 Neighbourhood of *Asti*. *Lodovico's* Hopes
 in the mean Time were daily diminish-
 ing; *Federigo*, either out of Indolence
 or Inability, had as yet sent him no
 Reinforcement; and *Lewis*, by his Vigi-
 lance and Resolution, had at once de-
 prived him of all Expectation from the
Florentines, who had promised the Duke
 to send him, after the Reduction of *Pisa*,
Pagolo Vitelli, an Officer of high Repu-
 tation all over *Italy*. For as soon as the
 King was informed that the *Florentines*
 had sent a Secretary to *Milan*, he up-
 braided their Ambassadors in such high
 and threatening Terms, that the Repu-
 blic thought it most advisable to sign a
 Treaty, by which they were engaged not

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A. D. 1499. to assist the Duke of *Milan*, without demanding any conditional Obligation on the King's Side.

Lodovico's
Force.

LODOVICO, leaving a small Number of Troops under Count *Gajazzo* on the *Venetian* Confines, ordered *Galeazzo*, with Sixteen Hundred Lances, Fifteen Hundred Horse, and Ten Thousand *Italian* and Five Hundred *German* Foot, to pass the *Po*, with an Intent to keep himself on the Defensive, and avoid coming to Action. All he regarded was to gain Time, especially on account of the Peace that was meditating by his Agent *Visconti* between *Maximilian* and the *Swiss*, which he expected every Day to hear concluded, and in consequence, according to Promise, the March of a powerful Army to his Assistance. And indeed this Peace was necessary for him, if for no other Reason than that it was impossible for him to raise more Soldiers nearer home, for so great were the Preparations and Motions on all Sides as to drain the Country of all the Men fit for Service.

No remarkable Accident happened before the Arrival of *Lewis de Ligni*, *Edward d'Aubigni*, and *Gianjaccopo Trivulzio* with the Forces designed for the Expedition. The King was on the Road to *Lions*, and gave out that he should pass the *Alps* if it were necessary ; yet he did not intend it, imagining his Generals sufficiently qualified and provided to perform the Work without requiring his Presence. When the whole *French* Army passed under Review, it was found to consist of Two Thousand Six Hundred Lances, Five Thousand *Swiss*, Four Thousand *Gascons*, and Four Thousand other *French*. On the 13th of *August* the Army arrived before *Arazzo*, a Castle situated on the Banks of the *Tanaro*, and took it in a very short Time, tho' there were Five Hundred Men in Garrison, which was owing to the brisk Fire of the Cannon, and no less to the Cowardice of the Defendants. From *Arazzo* they continued their March to *Anon*, situated on the high Road between *Asti* and *Alessandria*, on the Banks also of the *Tanaro*. The Place

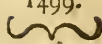
Number
of the
French
Army.

Arazzo
taken.

A. D. 1499. was strong by Nature, and had been newly fortified. *Sanseverino*, who was encamped near *Alessandria*, on Advice of the Loss of *Arazzo*, had designed to reinforce the Garrison of *Anon*, which consisted of Seven Hundred newly raised Men, with some Companies of Veterans; but found it impracticable, because the *French*, to prevent all Succour, had obtained Leave of the Marquis of *Monferrato* to place Troops in *Filizzano*, a Town between *Anon* and *Alessandria*. The raw Garrison of *Anon* made but a poor Defence, for the *French* having taken Possession of the Suburbs, attacked the Town at Four Places, and carried it in Two Days, and afterwards the Castle, and put to the Sword all who had retired thither when the Town was taken.

Anon
taken.

SANSEVERINO, in great Consternation at the Rapidity of these Conquests, drew his Army within the Walls of *Alessandria*, alledging in Excuse of his Conduct, that he had no Dependance on his Foot, and that the Country was disaffected to the Duke of *Milan*. The
French,



French, emboldened by this Timidity, approached within Four Miles of *Alessandria*, and at the same Time made themselves Masters of *Valenza*, which was well provided with Men and Artillery, by the Treachery of the Governor *Donato Raffagnino*, a *Milanese* Gentleman, who was bribed by *Trivulzio*, and introduced the *French* through the Castle into the Town, where they killed and took the whole Garrison ; among the Prisoners was *Ottaviano*, a bastard Brother of *Sanseverino*. It is remarkable that this same Governor, Twenty Years before, had in the same Manner betrayed *Bona*, and her Son *Giovanni Galeazzo*, by giving up to *Lodovico* a Gate of *Tortona*, on the same Day in the Year that he admitted the *French* into *Valenza*. The *French* now carried all before them like a Torrent, and took *Basignano*, *Voghiera*, *Castelnuovo*, and *Ponte Corone* without Resistance ; and a few Days after the important Town and Citadel of *Tortona*, the Governor *Antonmaria Pallavicino*, with his Garrison, retiring over the *Po* without standing an Assault,

THIS

THE HISTORY OF

THIS rapid Progress of the Enemy terribly alarmed *Lodovico Sforza*, who seeing his Sovereignty, like a weather-beaten Edifice, sinking into Ruins, and, as it often happens in great and sudden Calamities, deprived at once of Prudence and Resolution, had recourse to those Expedients which are the common Refuge of Despair; but which serve only to discover the Greatness of the Danger, without administering any Comfort or Relief. He ordered a List to be taken of all the Men in the City of *Milan*, who were capable of bearing Arms, summoned a general Assembly of the Inhabitants, to whom he was become odious on account of the heavy Taxes, and in their Presence abolished several of those Duties that were most oppressive; after which, in very pathetic Expressions, he thus addressed the People.

Lodovico's " If the good People of *Milan*, he
Speech to said, found themselves overcharged with
the Peo- Taxes, he trusted that they would not
ple of
Milan. ascribe it to his natural Disposition, or to

a covetous Desire of accumulating Riches, but to the Condition of the Times, and the Dangers that surrounded *Italy*, first from the Ambition of the *Venetians*, and afterwards from the Passage of King *Charles*: That he was forced to levy Money, to preserve the Peace and Tranquility of the Dutchy, and be prepared against those who would otherwise have invaded him. He therefore thought he could no way better merit of his People than by averting a War, which is always attended by a Train of Calamities. That this Conduct had its desired Effect, as the Event plainly proved, since, for so long a Term of Years under his Government, they had enjoyed Peace and Quietness, which had enabled them to grow rich, and augment the Splendor and Magnificence of their City beyond all others; witness the stately Structures, the public Spectacles, the great Increase of Artificers and other Inhabitants, not only in *Milan*, but over the whole Dutchy, to the no small Envy and Amazement of all the other States of *Italy*. He desired them to reflect how he had not governed
them

A. D.

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A. D.

1499.



them with Cruelty and Rigour, but with Humanity and Mildness: That he alone, among all the Princes of that Age, sparing no Pains to make his Subjects easy, had, on certain appointed Days, admitted promiscuously to his Presence all who desired it, and administered summary and impartial Justice. He put them in Mind of his Father's Merits, of his Beneficence and good Nature; how he had governed them more like Children than Subjects. He then laid before them the Haughtiness and Insolence of the *French*, who, were they once in Possession of the Dutchy, would doubtless behave, as they did in former times, when they were settled in *Lombardy*, drive out the old Inhabitants, and replace them with People of their own Country. He therefore thought it his Duty to forewarn them, that out of Dread and Abhorrence of such barbarous and arbitrary Proceedings, they might all as one Man unite in the Defence of their Lives and Fortunes: That there could be no Doubt but that if they made a resolute Stand against the first Shock, which however sharp would be but short, their Defence

fence afterwards would become easier every Day : For it was the Nature of the *French*. to attack with Fury, and spend their Spirits at the first Charge, but to remit of their Ardor, and be dismayed at a vigorous Repulse. That he expected vast Succours from *Germany* that were ready to march under the King of the *Romans*, who had composed his Differences with the *Swiss* ; and that he had received Advice that *Prospero Colonna*. was already on his March from *Naples* with a Body of Auxillaries, and had Reason to believe that the Marquis of *Mantoua*, with whom he was reconciled, had by this time entered the *Cremonese* with Three Hundred Men at Arms. That if with all these Hopes and Encouragements the Resolution and Fidelity of his People would but heartily concur, he should be under no Apprehensions of the Enemies, not even tho' he were to encounter the whole Power of *France*." This Speech drew Attention, but had no other Effect on the Assembly.

Lodovico

A. D.

1499.

Lodovico
bends his
whole
Strength
against
the *French*

Gajazzo's
Treache-
ry.

Lodovico was resolved to make his greatest Efforts against the *French*, without giving himself much Concern about the *Venetians*, who had already entered the *Ghiaradadda*, and taken *Caravaggio* and other Towns near the *Adda*. Pursuant to this Resolution he remanded Count *Gajazzo* with the best Part of his Troops from the Frontiers on that Side to *Pavia*, with Orders to join *Galeazzo* for the Defence of *Alessandria*. But all Precaution was now useless, and his Ruin was visibly approaching from all Quarters: For *Gajazzo* ungratefully forgetting the innumerable Favours bestowed on himself and his Family by *Lodovico*, had already treated and come to an Agreement with the *French*, being piqued, it seems, at the Preference of *Galeazzo*, his younger Brother, and a younger Soldier, in the Command of the Army, and at his being distinguished the first in the Distribution of Favours and Honours. It was reported that the Duke had some time before been apprised of the intended Treachery; and that, after a small Pause, he answered the

the Informer, with a Sigh, that he could not believe so much Ingratitude ; but, if it were true, he did not see how it could be prevented, nor knew in whom he could confide for the future, if his most intimate Friends, whom he had loaded with Benefits, could betray him; adding, that he could not but think it a greater Misfortune, and besides more dangerous, to deprive himself on a vain Suspicion, of the Services of a faithful Servant, than by an uncautious Credulity, to trust his Affairs in the Hands of such as were of dubious Fidelity.

COUNT GAJAZZO had ordered a Bridge to be laid over the *Po*, over which he was to pass, and join his Brother. But as he never intended this Conjunction, he artfully retarded the finishing of this Bridge, and when it was finished still found some Pretence for delaying his Passage. It was now Two Days since the *French* had opened the Trenches before *Alessandria*, and their Batteries had fired very briskly. *Galeazzo*, who had Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, the same

Num-

A. D. Number of light Horfe, and Three
 1499. Thousand Foot in Garrison, on the Third
 Day of the Siege in the Evening, without
 communicating his Resolution to any
 Officer except *Lucio Malvezzo*, accom-
 panied by a Party of Horfe, deserted his
 Charge at *Alessandria*, and went off loaded
 with the Infamy due to so base a Treachery;
 and leaving to the World just Reason to
 reflect on the Weakness of *Lodovico's*
 Judgment in putting such a Man at the
 Head of his Forces. This infamous
 Example of *Galeazzo* is a clear Proof
 that there is a very great Difference be-
 tween managing a fine Courser, and
 running at Tilts and Tournaments with
 heavy Lances (Exercises in which *Ga-
 leazzo* had no Superior) and discharging
 the Office of a General. The same ought
 to be a Warning to all Sovereigns not to
 deceive themselves in their Choice of
 Ministers to be employed in Places of
 Trust, by preferring them on account of
 private Love and Affection, rather than
 of known Virtue and Merit.

As soon as it was divulged that *Galeazzo* had taken his Flight, the whole City of *Alessandria* was in an Uproar, some fled, some hid themselves, and others wandered about in Confusion. The *French* took Advantage of this Disorder, and entered the Town by break of Day, stripping the Soldiers that came in their Way, and then plundered the Houses.

Alessandria taken
and plundered.

SOME said that *Galeazzo* had received Letters under the Hand and Seal of *Lodovico*, with Orders to abandon *Alessandria*, and march with all his Troops directly to *Milan*, where the People began to be tumultuous : others affirmed that whatever were the Contents, they were forged by Count *Gajazzo*, to give the *French* an Opportunity of getting Possession of *Alessandria*. *Galeazzo* used afterwards to shew these Letters in his own Vindication, by which it appeared, that he was commissioned to come away directly, and leave the Army to all Hazards, tho' he might think it practicable to conduct it into a Place of Safety. Their Authenticity

THE HISTORY OF

however is not so unquestionable, as it is that if *Galeazzo* had acted the Part of an able and resolute General, he might, with the Forces he commanded, have easily defended *Alessandria*, as well as most of the Places on that Side of the *Po*, and might even have reaped some Advantage. For it happened that, one Day after Part of the *French* Army had passed the *Bornia*, there fell so heavy a Rain, that they were for a long time confined between the *Bornia* and the *Tanaro* without a Possibility of returning to their Camp. Yet, when so fair an Opportunity offered, and tho' the General had Advice that a Party of his light Horse had sallied by the Bridge over the *Tanaro*, that joins the City to the Suburbs, and put to Flight the first Squadron* of the Enemy, yet he wanted Courage to engage them.

THE Loss of *Alessandria* put the whole Dutchy in a Consternation, which was every Day increased by some new Misfortune. For as soon as the *French* had

* The *Italians* use the Word *Squadron* to signify a Body of Foot as well as of Horse.

A. D. 1499. into *Germany*, both to avoid the present Danger, and to sollicit *Maximilian*, who had made Peace with the *Swiss*, or was on the Point of doing it, for his Protection and Assistance.

Lodovico
sends a-
way his
Children.

IN pursuance of this Resolution he immediately sent away his Children *, accompanied by the Cardinals *Sanseverino* and *Ascanio Sforza*, which last had a few Days before arrived from *Rome* to assist his Brother with his Counsel. With the same Company he also entrusted his Treasure, which was very much diminished of its usual Bulk ; it being well known that Eight Years before, when the Duke, out of Ostentation, made a Show of it to the foreign Ministers, it was estimated, in Money, Gold and Silver Plate, not reckoning the costly Jewels, at a Million and Half of Ducats ; whereas now it was thought not to exceed Two Hundred Thousand.

AFTER the Departure of his Children he constituted *Bernardino da Corte* of *Pavia*

* He made the People believe that he sent his Children to meet *Maximilian*. *Giovio*.

via Governor of the Castle of *Milan*, contrary to the Advice of his Friends, and of his Brother *Ascanio*, who offered himself to undertake that Charge. But he thought none more faithful, or so proper for that important Trust, as a Person who had been his Pupil, and educated under his Tuition. He left in Garrison Three Thousand Foot under Officers of approved Fidelity, with Provisions of Victuals, Money and military Stores, sufficient for several Months. For the Management of Affairs in *Genoa* the Duke depended on *Agostino Adorno* the Governor, and on *Giovanni* his Brother, who had espoused a Sister of the *Sanseverini*, to whom he entrusted the Guard of the Castelletto. He made Restitution to the *Boromei*, a Family of Quality of *Milan*, of *Anghiera* and *Arona*, with other Lands on the *Lago Maggiore*, which he had formerly seized into his Possession; and, on Payment of Thirty Thousand Ducats, he made a Surrender of the Dutchy of *Bari*, and the Principality of *Rossano*, to his Nephew's Widow, *Isabella* of *Aragon*, as a Settlement for her Dowry; tho' that Lady had refused

A D. to entrust him with her little Son, whom

¹⁴⁹⁹
 he would have sent with his own Children into *Germany*. These Affairs being settled, and his Reign at an End in the City, he continued in the Castle as long as he could with Safety, and on the 2d of *September* set out with weeping Eyes for *Germany*, in Company of Cardinal *d'Este* and *Galeazzo Sanseverino*, escorted by *Lucio Malvezzo*, with a strong Party of Infantry and Men at Arms*. He had no sooner set Foot out of the Castle, than Count *Gajazzo*, to give some Colour to his infamous Desertion, presented himself before him, and freely told him that since he abandoned his Dominions, he thought himself released from his Service, and at Liberty to chuse his Master; and immediatly after he displayed the King's Commission, and went over to the *French* with his Troops which he had raised and subsisted with *Lodovico's* Money.

Lodovico
 flies into
Germany.

Gajazzo
 deserts to
 the *French*

LODOVICO

* *Corio* says, *Lodovico* was escorted by a Body of Four Thousand Men. *Bembo* writes that the *Milanese* gave him plain Notice that they intended to surrender themselves to the *French* if he abandoned them; and that, at his Departure, he heard the People cry aloud 'a *Lewis*, a *Lewis*.'

Lodovico passed through *Como*, and left the Castle to the Guard of the Townsmen, from thence was rowed down to *Bellagio*, and landed near *Bornio*, his Way lying through all those Places, where not long before, in the Midst of his Glory, and at the Height of his Prosperity, he had made so magnificent an Appearance, when he entertained *Maximilian*, who at that Time had more the Appearance of an Officer of his own or the *Venetian* Service, than of a King of the *Romans*. He was pursued between *Como* and *Bornio* by the *French*, and by Count *Gajazzo's* Troops, but got safe to *Tironno*, where he left a Garrison, and from thence to *Inspruck*, where he expected to meet *Maximilian*.

Lodovico
arrives at
Inspruck.

As soon as *Lodovico* was retired * the *Milanese* sent Deputies to the *French* Army, which was advanced within Six Miles of their City, and agreed to receive them within their Walls without any Capitulation,

Milan receives the
French.

Z 4

* Four Days after *Lodovico's* Departure the People of *Milan* cried out for the *French*, as we are told by *Bembo*.

A. D.

1499.

pitulation, which they chose to have settled on the King's Arrival, from whom consulting merely their own Interest, they expected to receive great Privileges and Exemptions. The Example of *Milan* was followed by the whole Dutchy. The City of *Cremona*, furrounded by the *Venetians*, whose Government the People abhorred, would have surrendered also to the King; but *Lewis* being determined not to infringe the Articles of the Convention, that Place was obliged to submit to the *Venetians*. *Genoa* shewed the same Propensity to the *French*, the People, the *Adorni*, and *Giovanni Luigi del Fiesco*, striving who should have the principal Hand in delivering up their City to the King. And, to compleat *Lodovico's* Misfortunes, who in the Space of Twenty Days had lost so noble and powerful a State, the ungrateful and perfidious Governor of the Castle of *Milan*, whom his Master had selected as the most trusty Officer of his whole Army, on the 12th Day after the Duke's Departure gave up a Castle deemed impregnable, without firing

Cremona
submits
to the
Venetians.

Genoa sub-
mits to the
French,

firing a Gun. As a Reward of so meritorious an Act of Treachery, he was gratified with the Command of One Hundred Lances, and a Pension for Life, besides a very large Sum of Money, with many other Privileges and Immunities.* But so perfidious a Breach of Trust was quite odious in the Eye of the World, and his Company was avoided even by the *French* Officers, as they would that of a wild Beast; so that meeting with nothing but Contempt and Reproaches wherever he went, he was at length overcome with Shame and Remorse, the powerful and never-failing Scourges of Villainy, and died in great Horror and Anguish of Spirit. Several other Officers in the Castle had a Share in the Guilt of this unworthy Governor, and amongst the rest *Filippo dal Fresco*, another great Favourite of the Duke, who had bred him from a Child, and had left him in the Castle, as one in whom he could confide. But he, on the contrary, was so base-minded, and forgetful of his Duty and Obligations,

* The Sum was Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds of Gold. *Bembo.*

A. D. Obligations, that, instead of dissuading
 1499' the Governor from his treacherous Inten-
 tions, he suffered himself to be corrupted
 by fine Promises, had a chief Hand in
 the Plot, assisted at the Conferences, and
 was one of those that treated with *Antonio*
Maria Pallavicini, the *French* Commissary,
 about the Surrendry of the Castle.

LEWIS was at *Lions* when he received
 the News of this rapid Conquest, which
 in point of Time had exceeded his Ex-
 pectation. He had no more to do but to
 set out with all Speed for *Milan*, where
 he was received with loud Acclamations,
 and immediately, to ingratiate himself,
 abolished several Duties. But as the com-
 mon People are ever exorbitant in their
 Expectations, they were not contented,
 having persuaded themselves that they
 were not to have a single Tax left. The
 King bestowed Lands on several noble Fa-
 milies of the Dutchy, and particularly on
Gianjacopo Trivulzi, who, in reward of
 his good Services, had *Vigevano* assigned
 him, with many other Emoluments.

WHILE

WHILE the *French* were thus successful in *Lombardy*, *Pagolo Vitelli* assembled his whole Force in order to reduce *Pisa*. He begun with the Siege of *Cascina*, which surrendered in Twenty-six Hours, tho' it was well provided with Soldiers and all Things necessary, and had a good Ditch and other Fortifications: But the foreign Troops observing that the *Pisan* Soldiers were disheartened at the Weakness of the Walls, and inclined to surrender, capitulated for themselves, leaving the others, with the *Pisan* Commissary, to the Mercy of the Enemy. The Tower erected for the Defence of the Mouth of the *Arno* was delivered up at the first Summons of a Trumpet, and the Fort on the Lake was abandoned; so that the *Pisans* had now no other fortified Places, beside their City, left in their Territory except the *Verrucola*, and the Tower of *Ascanio*; and these it was not adviseable to attack, because as they were contiguous to *Pisa*, they might be easily succoured; and also on account of their Situation on the other Side of the *Arno*, and not of

Con-

Proceed-
ings of
*Pagolo Vi-
telli.*

A. D. Consequence enough to induce the Army
1499. to pass the River.

Siege of
Pisa.

THUS the *Pisans* had now nothing left to defend but their City, which was generally thought incapable of making any long Resistance. But Men of Penetration, who considered the Strength of the Town, and the Number, Courage, and Desperation of the Defenders, were of a different Opinion. For though the Number of foreign Troops was inconsiderable, being only those who, with *Gurlino* of *Ravenna*, had remained after the *Venetians* had recalled their Forces, yet there was a vast Number of Inhabitants and Peasants, who with Five Year's Experience were become brave Soldiers, and were determined to suffer the last Extremities rather than submit to the *Florentines*. The Town had no Ditch, but the Walls were very thick, built after the antient Manner, with Stone, and so well cemented by the Goodness of the Mortar peculiar to that Country, as to resist the Artillery much better than ordinary Walls, and give Time for repairing the Breaches.

However,

However, by the Advice of *Pagolo Vitelli* A. D.
 and *Rinuccio da Marciano*, who gave 1499.
 Hopes and expected that the Town would
 be taken in a Fortnight, the Siege was
 undertaken.

PAGOLO having got together Ten
 Thousand Foot with a great Number of
 Horse, and being supplied with all the
 Necessaries he required, on the last Day
 of *July* opened the Trenches, but not
 on that Side of the *Arno* which would
 have prevented any Succours coming from
Lucca, as several Officers advised, but on
 the other Side of the River against the
 Fort of *Stampace*, the taking of which,
 he thought, would much facilitate his
 Enterprize, both on account of Conve-
 niency of Situation for the more easy and
 safe Reception of Convoys of Provisions
 from the Hills, and also because he knew
 that the *Pisans*, not expecting an Attack
 on that Side, had neglected to make any
 new Fortifications, as they had done on
 the other. Having therefore erected a
 Battery of Twenty Cannon, he began to
 play on *Stampace*, and on a large Space of
 the

A. D. 1499. the Wall on each Side, reaching from *Sant' Antonio* in *Stampace* as far as the Sea Gate on the Bank of the *Arno*. On the other hand the *Pisans* worked Day and Night on the Breach, the Women assisting and shewing no less Resolution than the Men, till they had raised a high and thick Rampart, with a wide Ditch before it, without being dismayed at the Sight of those who were wounded, many of them mortally, by the Enemy's Artillery, either by their own Carelessness, or the Rebouncing of the Balls while they were at Work. The Besiegers too suffered no less in their Camp by the Fire from the Place, for the Shot from *Stampace* came so thick, that together with the Fire of the Cannon from the Walls, and especially from a Platform on the Tower of *San Marco*, they were galled to such a Degree that they were obliged to throw up high Banks before them, or lodge in Ditches.

THE Siege went on in this Manner for several Days, and tho' a large Breach had been made in the Wall of *Sant' Antonio* a *Stampace*,

a Stampace, and that Fort was so shattered that the General imagined it might be carried without much Difficulty, yet the more to facilitate an Attack, and assure himself of the Success, he continued widening the Breaches from *Stampace* to the Sea-gate, till at last all Communication with that Fort was cut off, and it stood quite without the Rampart, which had been erected by the *Pisans* at a good Distance from the Walls, which gave Room for frequent Skirmishes between the broken Wall and the Rampart, in one of which Count *Rinuccio* received a Musket Shot. What the General had in View was, after the Taking of *Stampace*, to plant a Battery there, and on the Ruins of the Wall, which taking in flank all that Part which was defended by the Besieged, he doubted not to be Master of the Place, especially since at the same time he laboured at undermining a Part of the Wall between *Stampace* and the Rampart, which was already weakened with Pickaxes, and supported with wooden Props, in order to make it fall towards the Rampart, and by its Ruins to fill up the Ditch, which, when they

A. D.

1499.

A. D. they gave the Assault, would much facilitate it, the Town Wall being very high in that Part.

1499.

ON the other hand the *Pisans*, who were under the Direction of *Gurlino*, had made some Casemates in the Ditch towards *Sant' Antonio*, to prevent the Enemy from filling it up, planted a good Number of Cannon towards that Place, and posted their Infantry before the Rampart, being resolved in case of Extremity to fight Hand to Hand, and dispute every Inch of Ground.

Stampace
taken by
Storm.

ON the 10th Day of the Siege, *Vitelli*, by Break of Day, gave the Assault to *Stampace*, and tho' the Troops suffered greatly from the Artillery of the Old Citadel, he carried the Place much sooner and easier than he expected, to the great Amazement of the *Pisans*, who were so terrified that they abandoned their Ramparts in a Panic, and ran about the Town, and many of the Citizens, among whom was *Piero Gambacorta*, with his Troop of Forty Archers on Horseback, fled out of
the

the Gates, and many more would have fled had not the Magistrates placed a Guard at the Gates. In short, the Consternation was so great, that if *Pagolo* had pushed on his good Fortune he might undoubtedly have put an End to the War that very Morning, and made that the most glorious Day of his Life, which by his own fatal Remissness and Neglect proved the Beginning and Source of all his Calamities. He said, indeed, in his Excuse, that he knew nothing of the Consternation of the Town, and that if he had known it he had formed no other Design than that of taking *Stampace* that Day, and had made no Preparations for a general Assault. This seems to be the Reason why the Rampart was not attacked, where he could have met with no Resistance, and why he remanded back to the Camp the greater Part of his Army, which on the Taking of *Stampace* had hurried thither in a tumultuous Manner, in hopes of entering the Town, and plundering it. The *Pisans*, on the News being spread that the Enemy stopt short, and did not prosecute their Advantage,

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took heart afresh, and being farther animated by the Cries and Lamentations of their Women, conjuring them to chuse Death rather than Slavery under the *Florentines*, returned to their Posts on the Ramparts. *Gurlino*, who had undertaken the Defence of *Pisa*, observing that the Enemy had raised a Terras of Earth and Planks along the Way that leads from the Ravelin before *Stampace* to the Seagate, and fortified it towards the Field, but had neglected another Way to *Stampace*, he gave Orders for terrasing the same with all Speed in the same Manner, and for erecting a Platform, on which he planted a Battery, that took the Fort in Flank, and hindered all Access on that Side.

PAGOLO being in Possession of *Stampace*, raised a high Battery of Falconets and other small Pieces, that commanded the whole Town, but did no Damage to the Ramparts, which were however pretty much shattered by a Battery of large Cannon planted lower ; but the *Pisans* would not abandon them, but continued resolute in their Defence ; at the same time the Besiegers

ers continued to batter the Casemate towards *Sant' Antonio*, and the Sea-gate, and to ruin their Outworks. The General laboured hard to fill up the Ditch with Fascines, in order to facilitate the Attack of the Rampart. On the other hand the *Pisans*, receiving a Supply of Three Hundred Foot from *Lucca* on the Night following resumed fresh Courage, redoubled their Efforts, and threw Pots of Wildfire on the Enemy's Workmen. Having frustrated this Attempt, the main Point they now had in View was to force the Besiegers to abandon the Fort of *Stampace*. For this Purpose they mounted a very large Piece of Cannon called the *Bufalo*, and pointing it against the Fort, after a few Shot it dismounted the high Battery ; and tho' *Pagolo* had directed some Pieces of Cannon to play upon it, which did some Damage to its Mouth, yet it continued to fire, till in a few Days it had shattered the Fort to such a Degree, that *Pagolo* thought fit at last to remove his Cannon and abandon the Place. Nor had he better Success at the Wall he had weakened with Pick-axes, for the *Pisans* having countermined

A. D.

1499.

A. D. 1499. it on the Inside, in order to make it fall off from the Ditch, when after removing the Props, he expected it to tumble down, it stood immovable.

IN spite of these Disadvantages *Vitelli* did not despair of carrying his Point at last, and making himself Master of the Place ; for which End, indulging his natural Temper, he resolved to proceed slowly tho' the more securely, in order to save the Lives of his Men as much as possible. And therefore, tho' there were in many Places Breaches of above One Hundred Foot, he continued to enlarge his Batteries, to fill up the Ditches with Earth, and to repair the Fort of *Stampace*, in order to plant on it a new Battery which might take in Flank the great Rampart which the *Pisans* had erected. In short he tried the utmost of his Skill and Art for obtaining a fair Opportunity of giving a general and regular Assault, with the surest Prospect of Success, and at the least Expence of Blood. But these dilatory Proceedings were no way satisfactory to the *Florentines*, who were very uneasy

uneasy at the least Delay, and continually teased him with Letters and Messages, urging him to be expeditious and hasten the Attack, lest some Impediment, which might arise every Hour, should be thrown in his Way.

A. D.

1499.

THIS Conduct of the General, tho' perhaps prudent, and agreeable to the Rules of military Discipline, proved thro' his ill Fortune to be the Cause of his Destruction. The Territory of *Pisa* being full of standing Pools and Marshes between the City and the Sea, is subject at this Season of the Year to pestilential Winds, and especially in that Part where the *Florentines* were encamped, and in the Space of Forty-eight Hours a violent Fever was propagated through the Army, so that when *Pagolo* came to give the Assault on the 23d of *August*, he found so great a Number of sick and enfeebled Persons, that he had not Men enough left to go upon it. The *Florentines*, and the General who himself laboured under the common Disorder, endeavoured to remedy this Inconvenience by listing new Men,

A. D.

1499.

Men ; but the Distemper raged so violently that the Diminution every Day much exceeded the Supplement. At last *Pagolo* giving over all Hopes of Success, and apprehensive of being attacked himself, thought it necessary to raise the Siege, which was contrary to the Opinion of many of the *Florentines*, who were for placing a good Garrison in *Stampace*, and continuing in their fortified Camp near *Pisa*. But *Vitelli* would by no means hearken to their Advice, for *Stampace* had been so shattered and damaged by his own Cannon and that of the Besieged, that it was not tenable. He therefore

Siege of
Pisa rais'd on the 4th of *September* broke up his Camp, and abandoned the Place, directing his March along the Road that goes to the Sea ; and as it was thought impracticable to convey the Artillery by Land to *Cascina*, because the Waters had spoiled the Roads, it was embarked at the Mouth of the *Arno*, in order to be transported to *Livorno*. But here the same ill Fortune attended this as did all his other Undertakings, for Part of the Can-

non

non was sunk, and a short time after recovered by the *Pisans*, who at the same time retook the Tower that guarded the Mouth of the *Arno*. A. D. 1499.

THESE repeated Misfortunes augmented the ill Opinion which the *Florentines* had before conceived of *Vitelli* to such a Height, that a few Days after being summoned by the Commissaries to *Cascina*, on Pretence of consulting about the Distribution of the Troops into their several Quarters, he was there arrested by Order of the superior Magistracy, and sent to *Florence*, where he was the same Night severely put to the Question, and the next Day beheaded. *Vitellozzo* his Brother narrowly escaped the same Fate ; for the Commissaries had the same Instant sent to apprehend him ; but he, infirm as he was, of the Sickness contracted before *Pisa*, feigning Obedience to their Orders, got out of Bed, and while he was dressing himself some of his Domestics who got about him provided a Horse, which he mounted with their Assistance, and got

Pagolo arrested, tortured, and beheaded.

Vitellozzo escapes to *Pisa*.

A. D. safe to *Pisa*, where he was received with
 1499. open Arms. *

Articles
 against
Vitelli.

THE principal Articles laid to *Vitelli's* Charge were, That it was owing to his Want of Will that *Pisa* was not taken, which might have been done the same Day that the Fort of *Stampace* was taken ; That for the same Reason he so long delayed to give the Assault: That he had received frequent Messages from *Pisa* without communicating the Subject to the Commissaries: That he had raised the Siege of *Pisa*, and abandoned *Stampace*, contrary to express Orders: That he had invited one of the other Generals to be his Accomplice in seizing on *Cascina*, *Vico Pisano*, and the Artillery, that on the Payments and other Articles he might have it in his Power to manage the *Florentines* as he should think fit: That whilst he was in the *Casentino* he held private Correspondence with the *Medici*,

* *Vitellozzo*, while he was delaying to dress himself, that he might give Time for his Friends to come about him, saw some of his Lances among the Spectators, by whose Assistance he forced his Way, and got safe to *Pisa*. *Buonocorsi*.

ci, and at the same time negotiated and as good as concluded a Treaty with the *Venetians*, by which he was to enter into their Service at the Expiration of his Term of Agreement with the *Florentines*, which was near at hand; that did not take Effect because the *Venetians*, having concluded a Peace with the *Florentines*, had no Occasion for his Service; but that, in consideration of this Agreement, he had granted a Pass to the Duke of *Urbino* and *Giuliano de' Medici*. These were the Crimes laid to his Charge, but he confessed nothing in particular, while he was under the Torture that could affect his Life; his Execution was hastened for fear that the King of *France*, who was arrived at *Milan*, should demand him to be set at Liberty. After his Death some of his Intimates, who had passed under a longer Examination, confessed no more than that *Pagolo* thought he had many Reasons to be dissatisfied with the *Florentines*, as particularly for their Partiality in favour of Count *Rinuccio*, the Difficulties they made in sending him the Supplies which he from time to time demanded, and

A. D.

1499.

A. D. and the scandalous Reports spread in *Flo-*
1499. *rence* of his Conduct, to the great Injury
 of his Reputation. Upon the whole, tho' some may continue to think that he had not discharged his Office with just Fidelity, and that he aspired to the Sovereignty of *Pisa*, or to make himself Master of some Part of the *Florentine* Dominions, where he had great Friends and Interest, yet the major Part were of the more charitable Side, and of Opinion that he used his best Endeavours to take *Pisa*, which he was sensible would have procured him immense Glory, it being the chief Concern of great Captains to embrace all Opportunities of acquiring Honour and Fame.

King of *France* being arrived at
France addressed *Milan*, received the Addresses and Con-
 gratulations of all the Potentates of *Italy*,
 by the rest of the *Italian* except King *Federigo*, either in proper
 Potentates Person, or by their Ambassadors; some
 congratulating him on his Conquest, some
 vindicating themselves from the Charge of
 having favoured *Lodovico*, and others to
 settle with his Majesty their future Opera-
 tions.

tions. They were all graciously received, and the King entered into Engagements with each of them, but of a different Kind according to the Diversity of their Circumstances, by which he might promise himself more or less Advantage from their Friendship. Among the rest the Marquis of *Mantoua* was received into his Protection, had the Command of One Hundred Lances given him, with a handsome Salary, and was honoured with the Order of *St. Michael**. The Duke of *Ferrara* was also received under the royal Protection. Both these Princes waited on his Majesty in Person, but it was not without some Difficulty and Expence that the Duke got himself intitled to the royal Favour; for ever since he had consigned the Castelletto of *Genoa* into the Hands of *Lodovico*, he was regarded as a Person disaffected to the *French* Interest. *Giovanni Bentivoglio* deputed his Son *Annibale* to pay his Respects and crave the royal Protection, which was not granted without a Sum of Money. But the *Florentines*

* The Marquis only accepted of the Order of *St. Michael*, refusing the military Place, and a yearly Pension of Twelve Thousand Livres. *Maria Equicela*,

A. D.

1499.

tines found it more difficult and expensive to compound Matters ; all their past Services were forgot, and no Regard paid to all they had suffered for the *French* Cause in the Times of the late King. The whole Court seemed to be set against them, and turned the deaf Ear to all they had to plead in justification of their Neutrality, to which, they said, they had been necessitated, that they might not make an Adversary of *Lodovico* in the Affair of *Pisa*. What passed in the memorable Transaction, when King *Charles* set the *Pisans* at Liberty, had made a deep Impression on the Minds of the *French*, and the Fame of their glorious Resistance begot an Esteem and Affection, and prepossessed the military Men in their Favour. The Authority also of *Gianjacopo Trivulzio* was of no small Prejudice to the *Florentines* at this Juncture, for that old Captain, aspiring to the Sovereignty of *Pisa*, favoured the Cause of the *Pisans*, who were disposed to accept of him or any one else that could defend them against the *Florentines*. The Ambassadors also met with bitter Reflexions from the whole Court
on

on account of the Death of *Pagolo Vitelli*, A. D. 1499.
 and were told that their Masters had, without any just Reason, cut off the Head of that valiant Captain, to whom the Crown of *France* lay under Obligations, for his Brother had been killed, and himself taken Prisoner, while they were in the Service of King *Charles* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. But *Lewis* did not so far indulge his Resentments, as not to let Reasons of State prevail over vain and popular Prejudices, and therefore Matters were compounded, and the *Florentines* also received under the royal Protection*, the King obliging himself to assist them with Six Hundred Lances and Four Thousand Foot, against all Invaders, and the *Florentines* reciprocally engaging to supply his Majesty with Four Hundred Men at Arms and Three Thousand Foot for the Defence of his Dominions in *Italy*: Articles of the League between the King and the Florentines.

Further,

* *Buonacorsi*, in his Account of this Treaty or League, condemns the Dilatoriness of the *Florentines*, who might have obtained what Conditions they pleased of the King while he was in *France*; but after he came to *Milan* and saw himself a Conqueror, he naturally rose in his Demands, and they were forced to purchase this League with a round Sum of Money, and with little Benefit to the Commonwealth.

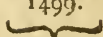
A. D.

1499.

Further, it was agreed that on the first Demand of the *Florentines* the King should furnish them with the aforefaid Number of Lances and a fufficient Quantity of Artillery for the Recovery of *Pifa*, and of thofe Lands and Territories taken from them by the *Senefe* and *Lucchefe*, but not of thofe held by the *Genoefe*: That if they did not demand of the King the Auxiliaries ftipulated, before his Enterprife againft *Naples*, he fhould be obliged, when he undertook that Expedition, to fend all or Part of them againft the *Pifans*; and they engaged, if *Pifa* at that Time fhould be recovered, and not otherwife, to join the royal Army with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and advance Fifty Thoufand Ducats towards the Maintenance of Five Thoufand *Swifs* for Three Months, befides Re-payment of Thirty-fix Thoufand Ducats lent them by *Lodovico*, deducting from the faid Sum what *Trivulzio* fhould declare to have been paid or expended on his account. Laftly, that they fhould elect for their Captain General the Prefect of *Rome*, who was Brother

to

THE WARS IN ITALY. 367

to the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, at ^{A. D.} 1499. whose Instance this Demand was made. 

THE Pope, whose Ambition would not suffer him to lie dormant at so fair an Opportunity, now thought it a fit Time to insist on the Performance of the Promises by which the King was engaged to assist Duke *Valentino* against the Vicars of *Romagna*. The Duke, who had accompanied his Majesty out of *France*, in consequence of this Request, was put at the Head of Three Hundred Lances under ^{King} *Ivo d'Allegri* paid by the King, and Four ^{assists the} Thousand *Swiss* commanded by the Bailiff of *Dijon*, who were in the Pay of the Pope his Father.

THE Cities of *Romagna*, as well as other Territories of the Ecclesiastic State, ^{State of} had undergone Variety of Revolutions, and ^{the Cities} been for many Years under Governors, ^{of Ro-} who were in a manner independent of the ^{magna.} *Roman Pontiff*; some of these Governors, or Vicars as they were called, paid them no Tribute in Acknowledgement of their Superiority, others with Difficulty, and when

A. D. when they pleased. But all in general

1499

thought themselves at Liberty to enter into the Service of other Princes, without asking leave of the Pope, or so much as excepting themselves from bearing Arms against the holy See; but on the contrary were obliged to defend those Princes against the pontifical Arms and Authority. The Service of these Vicars was very much coveted, for, besides their Power and Strength, which was considerable, their Country lay very convenient for distressing the Pope, and checking the Growth of the ecclesiastical Power and Influence. At this time the Cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia* were in the Hands of the *Venetians*, who had many Years before wrested them from the *Polenta* Family, who from private Citizens had made themselves Tyrants* of their Country, and were afterwards acknowledged as Vicars of the holy See. *Faenza*, *Forli*, *Imola* and *Rimini* had each their particular Vicars; *Cesena*, which had long been in Subjection to the Family of the *Malatesti*, had lately, since the

* The *Italians* gave the Name of Tyrants to them and their Descendants who obtained the Sovereignty of a City by Force.

the Death of *Domenico Malatesta*, returned ^{A. D} under the Obedience of the Church. But ^{1499.} the Pope pretending that these Cities were, for many Reasons, devolved to the holy See, was resolved to reduce them to their antient Subjection, tho' in reality he designed them for his Son *Cæsar*, and had with this View stipulated with the *French* King that, after the Conquest of *Milan* he should lend him his Assistance for recovering those Cities which were in the Hands of the Vicars, amongst which was *Pesaro* then in Possession of *Giovanni Sforza*, formerly Son-in-law to his Holiness. But the present Grandeur of the *Venetians* deterred him from entertaining any Thoughts of asserting his Claims to the Cities in their Possession, nor did he think it convenient at that Time to mention his Title to some little Places on the *Po*, that were in the Possession of the Duke of *Ferrara*. But *Valentino*, at the Head of the aforesaid *French* Troops, and those of the Ecclesiastic State, marched into *Romagna*, and immediately made himself Master of *Imola*, which City surrendered to him the latter End of *December*, 1499*.

VOL. II.

B b

THIS

* On the 29th of *December*. *Buonacorfi*.

A. D.

1499.

*Turkish**Incurſion.*

THIS Year, ſo fruitful of Events, and remarkable Revolutions in *Italy*, will be alſo memorable for an Irruption of the *Turks* into the *Venetian* Borders. For *Bajazet*, the *Ottoman* Emperor, having with a powerful Fleet, laid Siege by Sea to the *Venetian* Maritime Towns in *Greece*, detached Six Thouſand Horſe to ravage the Province of *Friuli*. The *Turks* finding the Country unguarded, as expecting no ſuch Viſit, plundered and burnt all that came in their Way as far as *Liquentia*, and returning with an infinite Number of Priſoners as far as the Banks of the River *Tigliamento*, for the better Speed ſelecting as many as they could conveniently carry with them, moſt cruelly maſſacred all the reſt. Nor were the *Venetian* Affairs well managed in *Greece*, for *Antonio Grimano*, the Captain General of the *Venetian* Fleet in thoſe Parts, was accuſed of neglecting an Opportunity of deſtroying the *Turkiſh* Fleet when it came out of Port *Sapientia*, and again at the Mouth of the Gulph of *Lepanto*. The Senate after appointing him a Succeſſor, ſent him a Summons to appear

Venetian
Admiral
faulty.

pear at *Venice*, and committed his Cause ^{A. D.} to the Cognizance of the Council of the ^{1499.} *Pregadi*, who had it under Examination ^{Tried,} many Months, his Authority and Greatness bearing him up, and pleading strongly for him against a Multitude of Arguments and Witnesses produced by his Accusers. At last it appearing that the Authority of the Accused, and the Multitude of his Relations pleaded hard for his Acquittal, or because the Council of *Pregadi*, in which were many Persons of great Prudence, had no Regard to common Report or ill grounded Calumnies, but applied themselves seriously to find out the Truth, the Cause was by the Magistracy of Advocates of the Community referred to the Cognisance of the Grand Council, where, either his Friends having no Sway, or that greater Deference was paid to the Prejudices of the clamorous Multitude, than to the Dictates of Senatorial Gravity, his Fate was at length determined, tho' not ^{And sentenced.} till the End of the ensuing Year, when he was condemned to perpetual Banishment in the Isle of *Ossaro*.

WE are now entering on the Year 1500 as fruitful of Events as the former, and also memorable for the plenary Remission of the Jubilee, first instituted by the Popes to be celebrated, according to the Example of the Old Testament, every Hundredth Year, not with Pomp and Pastimes, as was the Manner of the old *Romans* in their secular Games, but for the Salvation of Souls. For at this Time, according to the pious Belief of the christian People, there is granted a full Remission of all Sins, to such as confess them with sincere Repentance, and visit the Churches dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles at *Rome*. This Jubilee has since been ordered to be celebrated every Fiftieth Year, and at last reduced to the Twenty Fifth tho' out of Respect to the Memory of its first Institution, the Hundreth Year is celebrated by a much greater Concourse of People.

IN the Beginning of this Year *Valentino* took Possession of the City of *Forli* without Opposition. The Lady Governess of the

the Place sending away her Children and her richest Effects to *Florence*, and abandoning the rest which she was not able to preserve, was reduced to make the best of her Defence in the Citadel and Castle, which were well provided with Men and Artillery. She betook herself to the Citadel, and being a Woman * of a brave and manly Spirit, she made a Resistance which redounded very much to her Honour. *Valentino* having tried in vain to induce her to surrender, raised a great Battery against the Citadel, which beat down a good Part of the Wall and drew after it much of the Rampart, and filled up the Ditch so far as to make the Breach easy to be mounted. But the Besieged were so much terrified, that they abandoned the Defence, and endeavoured to retire into the Castle. The Lady used her utmost Effort to stop the Retreat, and animate her Men, but was born down by the Crowd, and the Enemy breaking in upon them,

A. D.

1500.

Manly
Behaviour
of a Lady.

B b 3

* This Heroine was Madama *Caterina Sforza Riario*, Wife to *Giralamo Riario*, and afterwards of *Giovanni de' Medici*. Some write that when *Valentino* threatened, if she did not surrender the Citadel, to kill her Children, she cried out, "Here, Duke, is the Mould for casting more!"

A. D. 1500. them, under the present Hurry and Confusion, cut most of them to pieces before the Gate, and entering pell mell among the rest into the Castle put all to the Sword, except a few of the Chief, who with the Lady retired into a Tower, and were made Prisoners. *Valentino* considering her Valour more than her Sex, sent her Prisoner to *Rome*, where she was kept in the Castle of *Sant' Angelo*, till, at the Intercession of *Yve d' Allegre*, she was set at Liberty.

VALENTINO, having made himself Master of *Imola* and *Forli*, proceeded with an Intent to make further Conquests, but was stopt in his Career by new and unforeseen Accidents. For the King of *France*, after giving what Orders he thought proper for the Administration of his new Acquisition, leaving sufficient Garrisons in the *Milanese*, and prolonging the Truce with the King of the *Romans* till the *May* ensuing, including in it the Dutchy of *Milan*, and all that the *French* possessed in *Italy*, returned into *France*. He took with him the little Son of *Giovan Galeazzo*, whom
his

his Mother imprudently committed to his Care, and whom he afterwards placed in a Monastery, and left the Government of *Milan* to *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, in whom he reposed an entire Confidence, both on account of his Valour, and other Merits, as well as his Enmity to *Lodovico Sforza*.

A. D.
1500.

BUT the King could not leave behind him a faithful Disposition in the Minds of his new Subjects, many of whom were disgusted at the Manners and Customs of the *French*, others found themselves disappointed in their Expectations of the Royal Bounty, and of an Exemption from all Taxes whatever, as the unthinking Populace had fondly persuaded themselves. Multitudes were highly dissatisfied at the Promotion of *Trivulzi*, the Head of the Faction of the *Guelfs*, to the Government of *Milan*, where the *Ghibeline* Faction was very powerful both in the Capital and all over the *Dutchy*. And this ill Disposition was exasperated by the bad Management of the Governor, who was of a factious, proud and restless Tem-

Milanese
uneasy
under the
French
Govern-
ment.

A. D.
1500.

per, and favoured and countenanced with the Authority of the Chief Magistrate, much more than was convenient, those of his own Party. Besides he was abhorred by the Populace for killing with his own Hand in the public Shambles some Butchers, who had the Impudence, in common with other Sorts of Vulgar, to refuse Payment of the Duties from which they were not exempted, and were so rash as to oppose with Force of Arms the Entrance of the Officers appointed to collect them. On account of these Grievances the major Part of the Nobility, and the whole Body of the common People, who are by Nature greedy of Novelties, longed after *Lodovico's* Return, talked of the same in public, and sounded his Name aloud in the open Streets.

IN the mean time the Duke of *Milan*, and his Brother the Cardinal had waited on *Cæsar*, and met with a gracious and honourable Reception. That Prince shewed much Concern for their Misfortunes, commiserated their afflicted Condition, and made them repeated Promises of his
marching

marching in Person at the Head of a powerful Army for the Recovery of their Estate, ^{A. D. 1500.} since he had now put an effectual End to his War with the *Swiss*. But such was his known Fickleness of Temper, and his Manner of confounding his ill concerted Projects one with another, that their Hopes diminished daily ; and as he was labouring under his usual Necessities, without any Regard to their present Distress, he was continually borrowing Money of them. The Duke then and the Cardinal, being weary of flattering themselves with vain Hopes, and being encouraged by the continual Sollicitations of Numbers of People of Quality in *Milan*, resolved to undertake the Work by themselves, with the Help of Eight Hundred *Swiss*, and Five Hundred Men at Arms of *Burgundy* which they had enlisted. *Trivulzi*, well informed of their Motions, was alarmed, and immediately dispatched an Express to *Venice* to solicit the speedy March of the *Venetian* Troops to the River *Adda*, and another to *Nve d' Alegre*, with Letters, importing that it was necessary for him to withdraw from *Valentino* with the *French* Men at Arms and

A. D. 1500. and *Swiss* under his Command, and march with all Speed for *Milan*; and that the Enemy might meet with Resistance at their first Attempt, he ordered part of the Army to *Como*, his Jealousy of the Inhabitants of *Milan* not suffering him to send his whole Force.

Lodovico
recovers
Como.

Milan
quitted by
the *French*.

BUT the Diligence of the two Brothers defeated all his Measures; for, without waiting till all their Troops were assembled, they set out with such as were ready, leaving Orders for the rest to follow Party after Party, and after passing the Mountains with incredible Speed they embarked on the Lake of *Como*, and appearing off that City, the *French*, who knew the Disposition of the *Comese*, forsook the Place, and the *Sforzas* were immediately received. The News of the Loss of *Como* raised such Commotions in the People of *Milan*, and in almost all the Heads of the *Ghibelline* Faction, that Tumults soon followed, which *Trivulzi* finding himself too weak to suppress, had no Way left but to retire with all Speed into the Castle, and the Night following together with some Men at

at Arms, who had retired into the *Barco*,
 adjoining to the Castle, he took his
 Way towards *Novara*, persecuted by a tu-
 multuous Mob with Insults and Execra-
 tions as far as the River *Tesino*. He left
 Four Hundred Lances at *Novara*, and
 threw himself with the rest into *Mortara*,
 where he and the rest of the Officers
 employed their Thoughts more on the
 Manner of recovering the Dutchy of
Milan, when Succours should arrive from
France, than on preserving it with their
 present Force.

THE *French* having thus quitted *Milan*,
 first the Cardinal, and afterwards *Lodovico*
 himself made their Entrance into that
 Capital, and took full Possession of all
 except the Castle, with as much Ease as it
 had been lost, the People expressing more
 Joy and Pleasure at his Return than they
 had done at his Departure. *Pavia* and
Parma declared for him without Delay,
 and *Lodi* and *Piacenza* would have follow-
 ed their Example, had not the *Venetians*,
 who were advanced to the *Adda*, hastily
 entered those Places. *Alessandria*, and
 almost

A. D.
1500.

Lodovico
recovers
the City
of *Milan*.

Pavia
and *Par-*
ma pro-
claims
Lodovico.

A. D.

1500.

almost all the Towns beyond the *Po*, as they were farther distant from *Milan*, and nearest *Asti*, a City which belonged to the King remained in Peace, and attentive to the further Progress of Affairs, by which they might take their Measures with more Safety and Advantage.

LODOVICO having recovered *Milan*, applied himself with all Speed to the Levying of a good Body of *Italian* Foot and as many Men at Arms as he could procure; and ceased not soliciting by Intreaties, Offers, and all manner of Hopes, every one whom he thought of Ability, or inclined to assist him in his pressing Necessity. He deputed Cardinal *Sanseverino* to *Cæsar*, to notify his prosperous Beginning, and intreat a Supply of Men and Artillery. And as he would by no Means have the *Venetian* Senate his Enemies, he gave Orders for Cardinal *Ascanio* to dispatch without Delay the Bishop of *Cremona* to *Venice*, to make an Offer of Reconciliation, which he was heartily willing to procure upon whatever Terms they should please to prescribe. But
the

Lodovico
unsuccess-
ful with
the *Vene-
tians, Flo-
rentines,*
and
Genoese.

the Bishop found the Senate inflexible, A. D.
1500.
 for they were determined not to depart
 from their Confederacy with *France*. The
Genoese, tho' earnestly solicited, refused
 to return under his Dominion ; nor would
 the *Florentines* comply with his Demand
 of repaying him what they had borrowed.
 Only the Marquis of *Mantoua* sent his
 Brother with some Men at Arms to his
 Assistance ; and these were accompanied
 by the Lords of *Mirandola*, *Carpi*, and
Correggio. The *Senese* remitted him also a
 small Sum of Money ; but these were
 but scanty Supplies to a Man in his Con-
 dition ; as were also those of *Filippo Rosso*,
 and the *Verminefchi*. The Fathers of
 these Noblemen had been deprived of
 their Dominion by *Lodovico*, the *Rossi* in
 particular of *San Secondo*, *Torchiara*, and
 many other Seats in the *Parmesan* ; and
 the *Verminefchi* of the City of *Bobbio*, and
 other circumjacent Places in the Moun-
 tains of *Piacenza*. But now *Filippo* left
 the *Venetian* Service without Leave, in
 order to recover his Patrimony, which he
 effected, and then joined *Lodovico* with
 his Troops ; the same Means were used
 by

A. D. 1500. by the *Vermineſchi* to regain what belonged to them, both Parties laying hold of this Occaſion to work themſelves into the Duke's Favour.

LODOVICO having aſſembled Fifteen Hundred Men at Arms beſides the *Burgundian* Horſe, his Infantry conſiſting of the *Swiſs*, and a numerous Body of *Italian* Foot, left his Brother *Aſcanio* at the Siege of the Caſtle of *Milan*, and paſſing the *Tefino*, took Poſſeſſion of the Town and Fortreſs of *Vigevano* by Compoſition, and ſat down before *Novara*. He choſe to beſiege this Place rather than *Mortara*, either becauſe the *French* had ſtrongly fortified themſelves in *Mortara*, or becauſe he imagined that the Conqueſt of that famous and plentiful City would greatly increaſe his Reputation, and ſhorten the War; and by taking *Novara* the *French* in *Mortara* might probably be ſo diſtreſſed for want of Victuals, as to be forced to abandon the Place; or, perhaps, his Deſign was alſo to intercept the Paſſage of *Yve d'Allegre*, who was returning from *Romagna* to *Novara*. That General was on his

Novara
beſieged
by *Lodo-*
vico.

his March with Duke *Valentino*, in order A. D.
1500. to besiege *Pesaro*, but on receiving Orders from *Trivulzio*, he suddenly departed with all the Horse and the *Swiss*, and in his March near *Parma* hearing of the Rebellion of *Milan*, he redoubled his Speed, and making an Agreement with the *Parmesans* and the *Piacentines* that he would do them no Damage, provided they would grant him free Passage, he made the best of his Way to *Tortona*. Arriving near that City he was addressed by the *Guelfs*, who thirsting after Revenge against the *Ghibellins*, represented to him how after that Party had returned under the Obedience of *Lodovico*, they were insulted and turned out of their Houses by them; but the *French* entering the Town plundered all whether Friend or Foe without Distinction, the *Guelfs* in vain lamenting and exclaiming that the King's most faithful Servants were treated no better than perfidious Enemies. From *Tortona* *Yve* continued his March to *Alessandria*, where he was obliged to stay, because the *Swiss*, either for want of Pay, or out of Treachery, deserted to the Duke

A. D.

1509.

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Novara
surrender-
ed to *Lodovico*.

Duke of *Milan*. The Duke now finding himself stronger than his Enemies pushed on the Siege *Novara*, in hopes of taking the Place before the *French*, who expected Succours from the King, could be in a Condition to relieve it. His Endeavours took Effect, for the *French* Garrison, despairing of Relief, surrendered the Town upon Articles, by which they were allowed to march out of the Place with all their Effects, and be safely conducted to *Vercelli*. The Capitulation was punctually observed by *Lodovico*, tho' some would have persuaded him to break it, and put the Garrison to the Sword, as the surest Means to disable his Enemy, and not unwarranted by the Example of great Men, who have violated their Faith, for the Sake of acquiring a State; how much more lawful then must it be to break ones Faith for preserving it! The City of *Novara* being reduced, *Lodovico* laid Siege to the Citadel; but it was thought that if he had marched towards *Mortara*, where was a Misunderstanding between *Ligni* and *Trivulzio*, the *French* would have retired on the other Side of the *Po*.

BUT

BUT while *Lodovico* was thus active and diligent in improving his good Fortune, the King was no less eager and solicitous to repair his Losses. As soon as he had received Advice of the Rebellion of *Milan*, burning with Shame and Indignation, he immediately dispatched *Tremouille* with Six Hundred Lances for *Italy*, gave Orders for raising a great Body of *Swiss*, and for the greater Expedition in providing all things necessary, appointed the Cardinal of *Rouen* his Intendant General on this Side the Mountains, and ordered him to set out immediately for *Asti*. The Preparations were so hastened, that by the Beginning of *April* the King had in *Italy* an Army of Fifteen Hundred Lances, Ten Thousand *Swiss*, and Six Thousand *French* under the Command of *La Tremouille*, *Trivulzi*, and *Ligni*. All these Troops assembled together at *Mortara*, and thence marched towards *Novara*, depending as much on Treachery as open Force; for the chief Officers of the *Swiss* that were in *Lodovico's* Army, tho' they had behaved both bravely and faithfully in the Siege of

The
French
King
makes
Preparati-
ons to re-
cover *Mi-
lan*.

A. D. 1500. *Novara*, entered now into a private Combination with the chief Officers of their Countrymen that were in the *French* Army, which *Lodovico* beginning to suspect, gave Orders for the March of Four Hundred Horse and Eight Thousand Foot from *Milan* to reinforce his Army. The *Swiss* that were in *Novara* now began to be tumultuous at the Instigation of their Officers, and took Occasion to murmur because they were disappointed of their Pay on the Day it was promised. But the Duke immediately flying to the Place where the Tumult was, used such kind and fair Speeches, intermixed with Prayers and Intreaties, as really moved Compassion; and by making them a Present of all his Plate, prevailed on them to wait till the Money arrived from *Milan*. But the *Swiss* Officers being apprehensive that if the Duke's Army should be reinforced by the Troops from *Milan*, the Execution of their treacherous Designs might be prevented, took Care that the *French* Army should present itself in order of Battle before the Walls of *Novara*,
surrounding

THE WARS IN ITALY. 387

surrounding a great Part of it, while they posted a Body of Horse between that City and the River *Tesino*, to prevent the Duke or any other from escaping to *Milan*. The Duke finding every Hour more and more Reason to think himself betrayed, resolved to march with his Army out of *Novara*, and give the Enemy Battle, having already ordered out his light Horse, and the *Burgundians* to begin the Fight. But his Measures were flatly contradicted and opposed by the *Swiss* Commanders, who protested that it was not lawful for them to fight against their own Brothers, near Relations and Countrymen, without Leave first obtained from their Superiors. * And soon

C c 2

after *Lodovico* betrayed by his *Swiss*.

* Some would excuse the *Swiss* in this Affair, alleging that they are prohibited by their Law, under the severest Penalties, to appear in Arms against the public Standard of the League; and because the *Swiss* in *Lodovico's* Army had been privately listed, but those in the *French* Service under the public Banner of the League, consequently the former were not at Liberty to act against their Countrymen on the other Side without rebelling against their Laws.

A. D. 1500. after intermixing with the other *Swiss*, as if they made but one Army, they declared their Resolution to set out immediately for their own Country. Nor could *Lodovico* with all his Prayers, Tears, and infinite fair Promises, divert them from this barbarous Treachery, tho' he besought them in the most supplicant Manner, that they would, at least, conduct him into a Place of Safety. But these obdurate Wretches having before agreed with the *French* Generals to march off, and leave him behind, his Request was not granted. All he could obtain was, to dress himself like a *Swiss* private Centinel, and to take his Chance, if he was not known, to escape. This Proposal he accepted of as his only Refuge in this utmost Distress; but, alas! it proved insufficient for his Security. For as the *Swiss* were marching in military Order through the *French* Army, he was, by the Vigilance of those who were appointed to watch, or by the Indication of the *Swiss* themselves, discovered as he was marching a-foot in

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in the midst of a Battalion, clothed ^{A. D.} and armed like a *Swiss*, and immedi- ^{1500.}ately made a Prisoner; a miserable Spectable! which drew Tears even from the Eyes of many that were his Enemies. With him were taken *Galeazzo da Sanseverino*, *Fracassa*, and *Antonmaria* his Brothers, disguised in the same Manner among the *Swiss*. The *Italian* Soldiers were all seized and stript, either in *Novara*, or in their Flight towards the *Tesino*. But the *Burgundian* Horse, and the *German* Foot were civilly dismissed, the *French* not thinking fit to affront these Nations.

THE Duke being taken, his Army dispersed, all Obstacles removed, and every Place full of Flight and Terror, Cardinal *Ascanio*, who had already forwarded the March of the Troops that were assembled at *Milan*, being terrified at so sad a Catastrophe, suddenly departed from *Milan*, in order to retire to some Place of Safety, accompanied by many of the *Ghibelline* Nobles, who having shewn an immoderate Zeal for

A. D. *Lodovico*, despaired of obtaining Pardon from the *French*. But it was ordained that Treachery and ill Fortune should both equally conspire against the Two Brothers. The Cardinal fatigued with a hasty and troublesome Day's Journey, rested the next Night at *Rivolta* in the *Piacentine*, a Castle belonging to *Currado Lando*, a Gentleman of *Piacenza*, his Relation and intimate Friend. But *Currado*, changing his Mind with the Change of Fortune, sent immediate Notice of his Guest to *Carlo Orsini*, and *Sonzino Benzoni*, two *Venetian* Officers at *Piacenza*, and upon their Arrival with a Guard delivered him into their Hands. But *Hermes Sforza*, Brother to the late Duke *Giovanni Galeazzo*, and some other *Ghibelline* Gentlemen that accompanied the Cardinal, who had more wisely consulted their Safety than to take up their Lodging with him in the Castle, were passed forwards. *Ascanio* was immediately conducted a Prisoner to *Venice*; but the King considering how much it would conduce to the Security of the Dutchy of *Milan* to have

Cardinal
Ascanio
betrayed.

have him in his own Custody, peremptorily demanded him of the Senate, and upon their demurring, proceeded to Protests and Menaces, claiming him as his Prisoner because he was taken in a Country subject to his Dominion. This Demand, tho' very harsh and grating, and highly injurious to the Honour of the *Venetian* Name, yet to avoid the Fury of the *French* Army, the Senate thought best to comply with, and delivered him up together with all the rest of the *Milaneſe* who had been taken with him. And as a greater Instance of their Obsequiousness, *Battiſta Viſconti*, and some others of the Nobles who had fled from *Milan* on the same Account, and taken Refuge in the *Ghiaradadda*, and had obtained a Protection for their Security, in which it was expressly mentioned that they should not be delivered up to the *French*, were notwithstanding, from the same Motives of servile Awe and Dread, delivered into the King's Power. Of so much Influence was the Terror of the *French* Arms at that Time on the *Venetian* Senate, as to set aside all Regard to the Dignity of the Republic.

A. D.

1500.

Delivered
to the
French.

THE HISTORY OF

THE City of *Milan*, destitute of all Hopes, immediately sent Ambassadors to the Cardinal of *Rouen* humbly to implore Pardon. The Cardinal received them very graciously, and granted them a Pardon for their Rebellion in the King's Name, but on Condition of paying Three Hundred Thousand Ducats, the greatest Part of which the King afterwards was pleased to remit. After the same Manner did the Cardinal pass an Indemnity for the other Cities that had rebelled, fining every one of them according to their respective Rank and Abilities *.

THE War being thus happily ended, the Troops were disbanded; but the *Swiss* of the Four Cantons nearest to the Town of *Bellinzona*, situated among the Mountains, in their Return home, unexpectedly took Possession of that Place. The King at first might have had it restored for a moderate Sum, but indulging his penurious

* *Pavia* was fined One Hundred Thousand Ducats, *Parma* Sixty Thousand. *Buoncorfi*.

rious Temper, to save a little Money, he lost Opportunities that were of great Moment to his Affairs. For such Times and Accidents happened afterwards, as made him oftentimes desirous to purchase that Town at any Rate, it being a Pass of the greatest Importance for preventing the Descent of the *Swiss* into the *Milanesè*.

LODOVICO SFORZA was conducted to *Lions*, where the King was at that Time, and made his Entry into that City at Noonday amidst an infinite Number of Spectators, who flocked from all Parts to behold a Prince so lately at the Height of Grandeur and Majesty, and the Envy of the World for Happiness, now fallen into the most abject State of Misery, and not able to obtain the Favour, tho' he earnestly desired it, of being admitted into the King's Presence. After Two Days he was committed to the Tower of *Loches*, where he spent the Remainder of his Life, which was about ten Years, in a narrow Prison, which afforded Room enough to hold the Man whose Thoughts and Ambition

A. D.
1500.

Lodovico
spends the
Remain-
der of his
Life in a
Prison.

A. D. 1500. bition all *Italy* was scarce sufficient to circumscribe.

His Character.

LODOVICO SFORZA, was, without Question, a Prince of extraordinary Wit and Eloquence, and of many other natural Endowments, and might well deserve the Appellation of gentle and merciful, had not the Infamy of his Nephew's Death sullied that Part of his Character. But on the other Hand it must be confessed that he was naturally vain, restless, ever full of ambitious Projects, made light of his Promises, or a Breach of Faith, and was so conceited of his Wisdom, that he could by no means endure to hear another commended for extraordinary Prudence and Sagacity, persuading himself that by his own Art and Industry he could dive into the Thoughts, and penetrate the Designs of the most able Politicians, and bend them to his own Purposes.

Cardinali
Ascanio
confined.

HIS Confinement was followed not long after by that of Cardinal *Ascanio*, his Brother, who was received with greater Civility and Respect, and had the Favour
to

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to be visited by the Cardinal of *Rouen*. A. D.

He had also a more honourable Prison; 1500.

for he was committed to the Tower of *Bourges*, where the King who now imprisoned him had formerly lain himself two Years confined. So mutable and wretched is the Condition of Mortals, and so blind are we to future Events, and the Approaches of Fate !

The End of the Fourth Book, and Second Volume.



EXPLANATION of NAMES.

<i>Pagolo</i>	<i>Paul</i>
<i>Caterina</i>	<i>Katherine</i>
<i>Ridolfo</i>	<i>Rodolphus</i>
<i>Cæsare</i>	<i>Cæsar</i>
<i>Antonio</i>	<i>Anthony</i>
<i>Alexandria</i> }	The same.
<i>Alessandria</i> }	
<i>Gian</i>	<i>John</i>
<i>Nicoló</i>	<i>Nicholas</i>
<i>Michele</i>	<i>Michael</i>
<i>Bartolomeo</i>	<i>Bartholomew</i>
<i>Anton Maria</i>	<i>Anthony Mary</i>
<i>Gianjacopo</i>	<i>John James</i>

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